



Social Progress

The Expulsive Power of a New Affection
H. RICHARD RASMUSSEN

Older Persons in the Labor Force
GERTRUDE BANCROFT

SEPTEMBER 1952

V. 43-47
1952/53-53/54

83813

Social Progress

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the Church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Vol. XLIII No. 1

CONTENTS : SEPTEMBER, 1952

	PAGE
From This Vantage Point	1
Articles	
The Expulsive Power of a New Affection, <i>by H. Richard Rasmusson</i> ..	4
Statesmen in Overalls, <i>by Jacob S. Potofsky</i>	7
Why Christians Are Concerned About the World, <i>by Clifford Earle</i>	10
Buffalo in Retrospect, <i>by Joseph W. Fichter</i>	13
Older Persons in the Labor Force, <i>by Gertrude Bancroft</i>	19
Sanctuary	
Labor Sunday Message.....	16
Christian Action	24
About Books	30

Department of Social Education and Action: Clifford Earle, Secretary and Editor; Margaret E. Kuhn, Associate Secretary and Editor; Helen H. Harder, Editorial Assistant; Helen Lineweaver, Research Assistant.

Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action: Mrs. Joseph H. Kindle,* Joseph J. Copeland, George T. Peters, Chairman,* Henry Lee Willet, Frank T. Wilson, Paul S. Wright; Mrs. Roland P. Beattie,* T. Guthrie Speers,* Robert S. Steen; Walter H. Eastwood, John A. Mackay; Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard, C. Elwood Boulware, William Adams Brown, Jr., Mrs. Scott Ellis, Burton Fowler, Paul S. Heath, Paul K. Justus, Robert W. MacDonald, and Edward W. Stimson. *Executive Committee members.

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Subscriptions, \$1.00 a year; three years for \$2.50. Single copy, 15 cents. Group rates on request.
Send subscriptions to 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Copyright 1952 by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

The Church as Employer

A CHURCH-RELATED hospital recently employed an elevator operator. She was told that all workers in her classification received the same beginner's salary and that she would be in line for a raise within three months. She was on duty from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. six days a week. After two weeks of work, she received her first check—the paltry sum of \$32.30. That comes to about forty cents an hour.

The economic facts of this woman's employment were brought to the attention of a social service agency to which she had turned for help in the care of her small children. An interested person wrote to the hospital protesting "such wage practices in an organization to which church members make contributions." Her letter was answered by a member of the hospital's board of directors, who pointed out that the hospital renders a great deal of charity service. This free service is made possible, he said, partly by the sacrificial labors of those employed in the hospital. He had it all worked out—each additional five dollars paid to a hospital worker means one day less care for somebody who comes to the hospital for healing.

So by her "philanthropy" the elevator operator was extending the free service rendered by the hospital. In the meantime, she had to turn to another agency for help in the care of her own children.

One would like to ask these questions: Did the elevator operator receive credit for her "contribution"? Who decided the amount of her gift? Have fair labor standards no meaning for Church-related institutions?

I say that wage policies such as this bring reproach upon the entire Church.

Using the Labor Sunday Message

THE Labor Sunday Message, appearing on pages 16 and 17, was prepared by the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. It has been approved by the General Board of the National Council with the request that it be read in the churches on Labor Sunday, August 31, or on Septem-



ber 7. Many churches will use the latter date or one of their own choosing.

The message is well worth bringing to the attention of the entire community. Two ways of doing this are recommended.

1. A community-wide vesper service can be arranged. The support of various civic and labor groups should be solicited.

2. The message can be brought to the attention of local newspapers and managers of local radio stations.

It is especially valuable to bring the Labor Sunday Message to the attention of labor and business groups in the community.

Let us remember that the last General Assembly urged "every church to seek an effective ministry to laboring people, and to bring together in Christian fellowship men and women from all occupations and walks of life."

International Human Rights

ALREADY it appears that one of the most important events of the last General Assembly was the address delivered at the Interracial Fellowship meeting on May 25 by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. Dr. Nolde spoke to the Assembly, and through the Assembly to the entire nation. His address was a major reply to the attacks being made on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other efforts of the United Nations to create international instruments for the protection of the freedom and rights of persons.

The full extent of this attack is suggested by the fact that last February Mr. Bricker of Ohio introduced in the United States Senate a resolution calling for a Constitutional amendment that will make it forever impossible for our nation to support any international agreement in the field of human rights. The proposed amendment has in it something that would alter the balance between the legislative and the executive branches of the government and so bring about essential changes in our form of democracy. Fifty-eight Senators, for one reason or another, have joined Mr. Bricker in the sponsorship of the resolution.

It is nothing less than providential that several years ago the Missionary Education Movement, now the Joint Commission on Missionary Education of the National Council of Churches, chose for the mission study emphasis for the year beginning in September the theme "Human Rights."

An important study book has been prepared under the authorship of Fred Brownlee entitled *These Rights We Hold*. No more timely study book in applied religion has ever come into our hands.

In the months to come, SOCIAL PROGRESS will have a great deal to say about human rights in the light of the current propaganda. The position of our Church is clear—note the social pronouncements of this year.

Preview

A LARGE part of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is devoted to economic issues, with special reference to labor relations.

The first article is a fine example of social action preaching by Dr. H. Richard Rasmusson, of the University Church on the campus of Purdue University in Indiana. He gives new treatment to an old theme. What he says about the East-West conflict is true and important.

We are proud to present an important article by Mr. Potofsky, an outstanding C.I.O. leader in the field of international relations. In this year of political decision, it is good to know what a widely trusted labor leader has to say about our international obligations.

One of the most important Church events of the year was the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work held in Buffalo last February. An able interpretation of the meeting is presented by Dr. Joseph W. Fichter, of the faculty of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. Dr. Fichter is known across the land as an outstanding leader in agricultural affairs. He is a member of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

The article by Gertrude Bancroft about older persons in the labor force will be of great interest to ministers who shepherd people approaching retirement age. This subject will grow in importance from year to year. Miss Bancroft was chiefly responsible for the census data on the labor force and consumer income obtained in connection with the Current Population Survey and the 1950 Census of Population and Housing.

We include also an article outlining the religious basis of social action—our Presbyterian tradition of being concerned with everything that affects the spiritual and moral well-being of men and women.

—Clifford Earle

The Expulsive Power of a New Affection

By H. RICHARD RASMUSSEN, *pastor, University Church,
West Lafayette, Indiana.*

THE theme of this article is from the sermon of a great Scottish preacher Dr. Thomas Chalmers. It was suggested to him by these words of Scripture: "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him."

The theme is clearly true. In principle it means that a lesser good can be displaced only by a greater good, one passion cast out by a stronger passion, the love of the world expelled by the love of the Father. "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." But if we love the Father, the love of the world will be displaced by a greater love; and such is the expulsive power of a new affection.

Each of us needs to be reminded that the principle of the expulsive power of a new affection makes religion something more than subtraction and "thou shalt not." In our Christian relation, Christ does expel the love of evil from our hearts, but only to put in its place the greater love of Christ. We lose something, only to gain something greater and better.

But for too many people the experience of religion is subtraction

and "thou shalt not." It is primarily, they think, the experience of giving something up. Religion is a long list of negatives. As Clyde M. Allison wrote in a recent article, "The business of the Church is life—not mere prohibitions." And for some of our fundamentalist friends it is giving up even such harmless pleasures and amusements as movies, dancing, card playing. How drab and uninviting becomes the Christian adventure when refraining from doing these things becomes the test of our Christian faith!

But while becoming a Christian will mean separation from such evils as hurt the soul and the re-formation of the life around new focuses, the emphasis and the experience will be, not on what we gave up, but rather on what we now have. The Christian life, as Henry Drummond put it, "does not tell us to give things up, but rather gives us something so much better they give themselves up." So! It is the expulsive power of a new affection.

Consider this principle with reference to evil habits. Modern psychology has taught us that the best way to overcome a bad habit is to crowd

it out with something better. Instead of attacking the evil through our will and directly, expel it by cultivating a new and higher affection. The love of the world can be expelled by the love of Christ.

William James in his lecture on "Temperance" says: "The best way to wean people from intemperance is to fill them with a love of temperance for its own sake. In other words, replace the drink idol and ideal by another ideal. What is the other ideal? It is the ideal of having a constitution in perfect health that is elastic as cork and never cracks or runs rusty or finds any situation that it can't meet by its own buoyancy." This is the principle of the expulsive power of a new affection.

One day at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago a friend confided in me that a few years before he had been under the domination of an evil habit. He tried various methods to overcome it but failed. Failed he did, until a clean and good girl came into his life. And what he had been unable to do, even with prayer, his love and affection for her and her love for him accomplished. Evil habits—the love of the world—can be expelled by a new affection. We do not love the world when the love of Christ is in us and possesses us.

Look at this principle further with reference to what many people suffer from in every generation, namely, boredom. Dr. Abraham Myerson of the Department of Psychiatry of the

Harvard Medical School, says that "the Four Horsemen of the Weary Spirit are Fear, Sorrow, Fatigue, and Boredom." Ibsen makes Hedda Gabler say, "I often think there is only one thing in the world I have any turn for," and when she is asked what that is, she says, "Boring myself to death."

Now, boredom cannot be argued against. I have tried that with people who were bored. It is futile to tell the person who is bored by life that boredom is wrong, that it is psychologically harmful, that it is unhealthy. It cannot be treated that way any more than can alcoholism. It can be conquered only by a new affection, a new interest or incentive—only the greater love of Christ can expel from our hearts the love of the world.

You may have read in the papers some time back about Leona Joy, a society girl who was leaving what she called the "social ho-hum" and its boredom for Dutch New Guinea, where she expected to make a study of its insect life and its effect on the life of the people. She admitted she had never done anything useful in her life. But now she had found a new interest that seemed to give her some reason for living and doing good in the world. Her new interest and devotion gave her a sense of significance and her boredom left her. He that seeks to save his life will lose it. But he that invests his life in something worth-while will find it.

Lastly, let us apply our principle to the conflict between the East and the West, or the struggle of the democratic nations and Communism. The philosophy of Communism cannot basically be conquered by guns and war. We are confronted more fundamentally in this struggle with a system of ideas and a promise of hope to peoples in despair because of poverty and hunger and the desire for some of the fruits of our machine age.

Unless the democratic nations can prove to the nations of Asia and to the peoples of Africa and Europe that our system and way of life can bring them more material abundance, more freedom, more fullness of life than Communism can, we will lose their loyalty and friendship. The Communist program can be defeated only by a better program. One idea and way of life can be defeated only by a better way of life. As Dr. Raymond Fosdick put it in *The New York Times*: "The only way to beat an idea is with a better idea, and that better idea has got to be an idea that works." It is the principle of the expansive power of a new affection.

Such an idea is the Colombo Plan for lifting the standards of living in Southeast Asia. It is a co-operative plan, launched by members of the British Commonwealth. Its strength is that it is not something "imposed" on backward nations by a rich uncle, but something all are financing and administering together. It is eco-

nomic brotherhood in action. Over a six-year period it is hoped that by spending \$5,230,400,000, food and agricultural production will be greatly increased.

Here is one effective way to capture the revolution now abroad in the world of hungry people, for the philosophy of freedom and democracy. Communism professes to be the friend of the poor. This is the big lie. But until and unless the free world can launch a way of life that works for better houses, better food, more hope, a future with justice and mercy in it, we will lose. Only the love of the Father, expressed in abolishing poverty and sickness and disease, bringing health and hope to despairing peoples, can expel the demons on which the Communist philosophy grows and expands.

When Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher, was in the midst of a mental conflict as to whether he should seek the good life or the goods of life, he made this discovery: the more he applied himself to seeking the good life, the less he was tormented by the lure of the goods of life. Here is the principle we have been talking about—a lesser good displaced by a greater good, one passion cast out by a stronger passion, the love of the world expelled by the love of the Father.

"Take thou some new injection to the eye

And the rank poison of the old will die."

Statesmen in Overalls

By JACOB S. POTOFSKY, *Chairman, C.I.O. International Affairs Committee; president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*

EVER since its inception in 1935, the Congress of Industrial Organizations has been aware of the direct impact of international events on the working people of our nation. As Philip Murray, president of the C.I.O., has pointed out, a drop in wages in Paris can lead to unemployment in Pittsburgh or Detroit. Anti-labor activities in Buenos Aires can cause chain reaction effects throughout the hemisphere involving all Americans. Communist infiltration or aggression—with the trade-unions as its first objective—can at any moment cause a world crisis. The standard of living in the nations of Southeast Asia may directly affect our own standard of living.

Our realization that international events affect our own progress and security has led the C. I. O. to take an increasingly active part in world affairs. Underlying all our actions is the goal of peace, freedom, and security. We can develop our resources, maintain and strengthen our liberties, and achieve an ever higher standard of living only in a world free of war or the threat of war. We are as determined today as we were upon the end of World War

II in 1945 to achieve a just and enduring peace in which all mankind may live in freedom, harmony, and economic security.

Importance of UN

But we recognize that peace is indivisible, that we cannot go it alone. The world is too small for one nation to remain secure while other nations live under the shadow of war. Only through collective action can we achieve collective security, and our greatest vehicle for collective security continues to be the United Nations. The UN is the meeting place for all nations, the only forum where international differences may be peacefully resolved across the conference table. We realize the limitations of the UN—we believe that some legal way must be discovered to guarantee collective action that cannot be blocked by the veto—but we will continue to strive to preserve and extend its authority and power. We also heartily support the work of the various specialized international agencies, such as the International Labor Office, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), etc.

It is a truism to say that peace is a precarious thing in a world living under the threat of aggression. The past few years have proved beyond question that Soviet imperialism is like a tightly coiled steel spring constantly menacing the nations of the free world. The C. I. O. welcomes collective action containing aggression wherever it may appear. We supported President Truman and the UN for the courageous and united action in resisting the Communist-imperialist aggression in Korea.

In the Atlantic community, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization offers another bright example in preserving peace through collective action. The formation of a European defense force and its development of permanent machinery to guard against aggression is a valuable and necessary step in establishing security among a brotherhood of free nations.

Uniting the strength of the free nations in a system of collective security is a big job, but strength and unity alone are not enough. Violence and revolt among the peoples of North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, as well as the unremitting Communist threat among the free nations of Europe, are proof that to secure a lasting peace we must have more than arms alone. We must aim to wipe out poverty and disease and illiteracy—the breeding ground for violence and revolt. We must aim to destroy colonialism and exploitation

and discrimination, which promote the forces of violence and revolt.

Democratic Deed and Word

The basic motivation of our foreign policy must be to encourage the democratic forces of the world wherever we may find them. We must demonstrate to the downtrodden peoples of the world that the democratic deed matches the democratic word, that our professions of faith are realities. We must not allow the rivalry and tension that have developed between the Soviet Union and our own country to warp our ideals. To sacrifice long-range goals of liberty and freedom for immediate objectives of dubious expediency is to violate the very basis of our foreign policy. To ignore or repress the aspirations of peoples of other lands and to shore up reactionary regimes—both native and foreign—who seek to perpetuate suppression will drive potential allies into the arms of Communist imperialism.

When I use the term “dubious expediency,” I am thinking of our policies in Germany where we have failed to break down the industrial cartels which historically have been the background of German aggression; where we have insisted on re-arming Germany in the face of liberal opposition within Germany and of the well-grounded fears of France and the other European democracies; where we almost match the Soviet in courting the Nazis.

I am thinking too of Spain, where by negotiating with the Franco dictatorship we may barter away the loyal friendship of proved allies for the doubtful allegiance of a government that represents everything we abhor.

Economic Support

The C. I. O. vigorously supported economic aid extended to our allies, first through the Marshall Plan and now through the Mutual Security Agency. In helping to rebuild the war-shattered and paralyzed economies of the Western democracies and to stabilize their organs of government, our economic aid has made a real contribution to peace. We must continue to strive, however, to assure ourselves that economic assistance will benefit the masses of the people and not only the privileged classes.

In the long run, the Point 4 program of technical aid to underdeveloped areas of the world may be of even greater significance than direct economic aid. Of all the foreign programs, the Point 4 program is the cheapest in cost and the most promising in returns. By increasing the living standards of the peoples in backward and struggling nations, we are taking the surest course to obtain friendly and reliable allies.

The C. I. O. has given much more than lip service to these ideas. Believing that labor understands the aspirations of the plain people everywhere, we have insisted upon labor

participation in Government agencies dealing with international affairs. Believing that the free-trade-union movement can be a bulwark for peace, freedom, and security, we have helped to establish the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Believing that building strong democratic trade-unions in the underdeveloped areas of the world is one of our most certain guarantees of peaceful development, the C. I. O. has already contributed \$100,000, through the I. C. F. T. U., toward labor's own Point 4 program. National trade-union confederations affiliated with the I. C. F. T. U. have raised a total of \$700,000 for this fund, part of which has been earmarked for the sending of experienced trade-unionists to Japan, Korea, and Indonesia; for the establishment of trade-union schools in Asia, North and East Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean; and for the sending of special missions to help in organizing particular industries in some of these regions.

We consider C. I. O.'s contribution less as a gift than as an investment in democracy and as a symbol of our faith in the future of free-trade-unionism.

In Philip Murray's words:

"As unionists, as men and women dedicated to the improvement of humanity, we want to help—to help the less fortunate enjoy more of the blessings which God has placed on our earth."

Why Christians Are Concerned About the World

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

THERE would seem to be no question at all about the duty of Christians to be concerned about the world and everything in it that affects a man's spiritual and moral well-being.

Yet, see what happens. A church in the Middle West withholds its support from a Presbyterian mission project in West Virginia when an article appears in a denominational magazine describing some of the community work carried on there to make the lives of people a little more happy and secure. These things, say our Middle Western friends, are not the business of the Church. A Pennsylvania minister protests a thoughtful declaration of the Presbyterian General Assembly because, he says, Christianity deals only with personal matters and not with public questions. A layman in the West asks a friend of the writer to recommend a minister for a vacant pulpit—the kind of minister, he insists, who would preach what he calls “the simple gospel” and not talk about world affairs.

But the gospel of Jesus Christ is not that simple. We cannot limit its application to personal life or even

to so-called spiritual matters. When we seek to help people one by one to nobler Christian living, we constantly find consciences calloused, ears deafened, souls burdened, and fine resolutions thwarted by unholy and degrading influences in the world about us. We Christians had better be concerned about the world.

Presbyterian Heritage

Let us see, first of all, that our Christian concern about the world derives from our faith in the living and eternal God.

We Presbyterians are accustomed to speak of the sovereignty of God. The idea of God's sovereignty is the keystone of the Presbyterian system of theology. We believe in the one God, Maker and Sustainer of the universe, whose laws and judgments stand over the affairs of men and nations.

This emphasis John Calvin made forcefully and convincingly 'way back in sixteenth century Geneva when so much of our Presbyterian heritage was just getting under way. And he made it very practical by insisting that God's sovereignty over all of life means that the Church

must be concerned with everything that affects people.

One year, for example, Geneva was faced with an economic crisis. Businesses were failing; unemployment was rising—the people were afraid. At Calvin's suggestion, an emergency conference was held, attended by leaders from the Church, from the business world, and from the local government. They talked about the problem in the light of Christian responsibility. As a result of the meeting, a fund of money was raised by a special tax levy for the purpose of bringing into Geneva a number of unemployed French weavers and establishing them in business. Thus jobs were provided for the unemployed, and a new commodity was made available for trade with other parts of Europe.

Religion and Politics

Here was the Church getting all mixed up in politics and economics, trying to do something about a hard problem because it affected the well-being of people. In this tradition the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., through its General Assembly, has ever dared to speak out against every evil thing that hinders and degrades personality, and to uphold everything good that affirms a man's dignity and worth.

So do not be surprised when you read that our Church presented testimony relating to the position of General Assembly on sensitive social is-

sues of the day before the platform and resolutions committees of both the Republican National Convention and the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last July. That is our Presbyterian heritage—to be concerned with everything that touches human life, because we affirm the sovereignty of God over all human affairs.

Social Action and Evangelism

Now, let us go on and see that the emphasis we are making, our Christian concern about the world, comes very clear and sharp when we consider our Lord's interest in persons.

We make no mistake when we say that Christianity in its outreach is person-centered. We are concerned with persons and with everything in the world that affects persons. Here we have the joining of social action and evangelism.

There was a time when we made a wide distinction between the two. We used to differentiate between the social gospel and the personal gospel. The first, we said, was religion applied to social movements and institutions, to society as a whole. The second, we asserted, was religion applied to individual response and responsibility. And between the two there was a great gulf fixed. By this interpretation, evangelism and social action had very little to do with each other.

But when we are concerned about social issues because of their bearing

upon persons, we erase the distinction between these two great expressions of practical religion.

We are interested in interracial understanding and justice because we know what discrimination and bad racial relations do to persons at both ends of a prejudice. We are interested in good housing because we know how bad housing affects persons and families. We are interested in solving the problems of alcohol because we know how drinking, with all its attendant evils, hurts people. We are interested in the United Nations because of its vast programs by which the lives of persons are made a little more rich and full and secure.

Social action, like evangelism, is person-centered. Social action and evangelism have a common goal—helping persons to realize their full stature as children of God.

Right and Wrong

Here, then, is our measure for deciding what is right and what is wrong in social relations. Whatever helps a person to be the kind of per-

son God wants him to be is right and should be served and encouraged by the Church. Whatever in any way hinders a man, hurts him, degrades him, keeps him from being the kind of person God wants him to be, is wrong and should be resisted and rejected by the Church.

When we examine a problem, we ought to do what Jesus did—take a child and put him in the midst. See what happens to him, and then make up our minds about it.

Spiritual and Social

Personal religious experience is the primary concern of the Church, but it is impossible to separate the spiritual interests of individuals from the social conditions that nurture them.

In Exodus it is recorded that “Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage.” Their suffering hindered them from hearing the voice of God’s servant who had come to bring them deliverance. How often that story is repeated today!

There is virtually unanimous agreement that the best possible solution of the problem of supporting the older person—from a psychological, social, and economic standpoint—lies in enabling him to continue to do productive work in accordance with his capacity. To this end—

1. Increased attention needs to be given to the prevention and treatment of degenerative and debilitating diseases.

2. Chronological age limits for employment should be abandoned or greatly advanced.

3. Immediate research and action are needed to discover and provide employment opportunities for the capacities of the aging.

— Social Legislation Information Service, August 27, 1951.

Buffalo in Retrospect

By JOSEPH W. FICHTER, *Past Master of the Ohio State Grange and member of the Executive Committee; professor, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.*

THOSE of us, 323 to be exact, who attended the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work, at Buffalo, New York, February 21-24 of this year, have discovered that this conference continues alive in retrospect, and we continue to relive the experiences of those four days as we go about our daily work.

Perhaps this is a result of the fact that the subject matter of the conference dealt with our daily work, an experience that claims much time and thought. Although it is assumed that one should try to apply on week days the gospel he hears preached in the pulpit on Sunday, this meeting in Buffalo, jointly sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the Canadian Council of Churches, was the first gathering called by national Church groups in North America to consider the specific problems of Christians in their daily lives.

The labor leader who said the conference started him to thinking along lines he had never before followed and the lawyer who declared it was a high point in the religious experience of many laymen expressed

what all of us felt as we worked together during the conference and reached our conclusions.

Although this was an assemblage called to consider religious and spiritual matters, for every clergyman in attendance there were six laymen present and actively participating. The fact that so many laymen left their jobs at home to devote four days, besides time in travel from great distances in the United States and Canada, to an endeavor of this kind has significance which becomes increasingly apparent.

The program of this conference provided more time for the expression of ideas by many people than is usually offered in most meetings. Only one of the twelve sessions was devoted to the adoption of a formal statement. The other sessions were used for the expression and exchange of ideas. With plenty of time provided for this purpose, the situation was conducive to the sharing of ideas in an atmosphere of deliberation. Too often, participants in a meeting have a feeling of frustration because they do not have the time to pursue an idea in sufficient detail. This was not the case at Buffalo.

THE purpose of the Buffalo conference was to direct attention to the varied problems which the Christian faces in his daily work and to the Christian approach to these problems. These problems have many aspects, and certain and final answers are not reached easily or quickly. It was evident that no predetermined answers to these questions were arranged by those who set up the program. The one formal statement that was adopted at one plenary session is an expression of some principles upon which the delegates agreed. The reports of the occupational discussion groups at another of the plenary sessions contain statements showing the tenor of the discussions in these groups. With a relatively small amount of time consumed in reaching agreement on statements, there was ample time for each delegate to hear many different ideas. These ideas continue to live in one's mind as time goes by.

THE importance of the layman was stressed repeatedly by the speakers at Buffalo. "We want to shake up or change the attitude of many Christian laymen who shirk their responsibility by leaving the message and practice of Christianity so exclusively to the clergy," conference chairman, Al Whitehouse, told delegates at the opening session. Mr. Whitehouse is director of District 25, United Steelworkers of America.

Extending greetings at the opening session, Dr. Samuel M. Cavert, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, urged a return to the Reformation emphasis on the sacredness of daily work. "According to the Reformation," he said, "all men are equally called to serve God in their daily occupations. In so far as we are true to this insight we cannot think of the rank and file of occupations as merely ways of making a living or of becoming financially successful."

At the opening session, the delegates heard greetings from Dr. William Barclay, president of the Canadian Council of Churches, and from Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, director-general of the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches.

The Buffalo meeting came about as a result of a suggestion by the World Council for a world-wide study of the Christian layman's relation to his secular responsibilities. A great regional meeting was held in Bad Boll, Germany, last summer. The Buffalo meeting was the second of the world conferences.

The delegates heard two addresses on the opening day by Dr. Robert Calhoun, professor of the history of theology at Yale. Difficulties in applying Christian doctrines to daily work were attributed by him to a prevalent secularization of life and work—the reduction of human living to the quest of success. He discussed the tendency toward deper-

sonalizing both work and persons, with the result that people become instruments instead of ends.

Dr. Calhoun said that artificial standards and demands have replaced fundamental needs and human requirements; that the modern specialization and isolation of the work pattern makes it difficult to realize Christian vocation in the day's work; that productive work is being subordinated to conflicts between groups and to nonproductive work and destruction—threatening work in armaments.

"There is need," he said, "for sober effort toward reorientation. Individual work must be integrated into socially responsible enterprises, both economic and political."

He declared that devoted work is "the very flesh and bone of living religion, without which worship cannot live and grow." He pointed out that work must meet the basic human needs of people, be adapted to the individual person, and offer opportunities for co-operation with groups of neighbors.

AT ONE of the sessions the following representatives of agriculture, business, labor, government service, and the professions talked on the topic "On the Job Decisions and the Conscience of the Christian Worker": William J. Grede, industrialist and president of the National Association of Manufacturers; J. Alfred Marquet, steelworker and

former president of Local 2177, United Steelworkers; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; Jerry Voorhis, former U. S. Congressman from California; and the writer.

The talks by these speakers did not resemble the typical talks one hears when occupational representatives speak. Instead of emphasizing the point of view of their respective groups to the disadvantage of other groups, they showed a tendency to treat their occupations in the spirit of self-examination. There were sixteen of these occupational groups represented at the conference.

Speaking as a representative of agriculture, I felt the urge to discuss the farmer's responsibility to his God and fellow men as a steward of the soil, his concern about the migrant labor problem, and the choice he must make between the Christian way of life and materialism—shall he be merely a producer of food in order to earn a living or shall farming be for him and his family an opportunity to express the Christian virtues?

The tendency to self-examination among the delegates manifested itself in an unselfish Christian approach to the issues involved in their daily work experiences. This was the outstanding characteristic of the Buffalo meeting, a very refreshing and much-needed innovation in conferences today.

(Continued on page 18)

Sanctuary

LABOR SUNDAY MESSAGE, 1952

"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden."

TO MOST of God's children these words bear the same meaning today as they did when they fell from the lips of Jesus—carpenter, teacher, and Son of God—in the hills of Galilee. The majority of mankind is even now heavily laden with the burdens that must be borne merely to stay alive from day to day. It is hard for us who live in a favored land that God has so richly blessed to realize that for men and women in many other lands life is a daily struggle to obtain sufficient food to provide nourishment for them and their children.

Evidence is mounting that men today have both the information and the means adequately to feed and clothe the increasing populations around the world. The burden of sensitive hearts in 1952 is to find the will and the way to apply our knowledge and resources to this end. Our Government has put into effect on a modest scale plans to help other peoples and their Governments to learn how to increase the available supply of food and clothing. It is attempting to find ways to attract the investment of capital in enterprises and facilities so organized as to preserve human values. It seeks to assist the peoples of those countries in the development of their own economic institutions in order to raise the standard of living of the poverty-stricken labor and farm elements in their populations.

BREAK THE BONDS OF POVERTY

THIS work is being done by the United States Government and through the specialized agencies of the United Nations. It is known as the Technical Assistance program and has wide bipartisan support. Our purpose is to help to break the bonds of poverty that bind teeming populations in many parts of the world, and to give them an incentive for a life in which they will be free, to some degree, from a never-ending struggle for mere existence and will have some leisure for education and for the development of a culture fully utilizing the values of their heritage. Communism has exploited the yearning for a richer and more satisfying life that goes far beyond a desire for more nourishment and clothing alone. Man must have food and raiment but his deepest longings can be satisfied only by the bread of the Spirit.

For many years the churches have had their own "Point Four" program. They have sent to other countries as missionaries men and women trained in education, medicine, and agriculture to help people directly and to teach them to help themselves. The National Council of Churches is ready to join with the labor movement and other groups in a continuing effort to aid the poverty-stricken peoples of the world to shed the burden of their poverty. We are gratified that American labor unions also have taken steps to assist free unions in Europe, Asia, and other areas to organize and raise the living stand-

ards of working people and to oppose the efforts of Communists to gain control of the unions of workers in free democratic nations.

The net benefit of the economic assistance we have given to nations in Europe and elsewhere has been substantially lowered by the reduction in the value of the dollar. Government officials and leading economists warn that the danger of inflation will continue for several years. In addition to sound public policy, there should be restraints exercised by all individuals in their use of funds, by business concerns in setting prices, and by unions in their demands for wage increases, so as to hold back the forces of inflation.

PREVENT INDUSTRIAL DISASTERS

Many leaders of American industry have worked to devise means to protect their employees from injury and death. A number of labor unions have trained their members in the self-discipline needed to guard them from accidents while at work. Despite the progress achieved through safety programs the Christian conscience is shocked by the repeated occurrence of terrible accidents, such as the one that occurred last December in West Frankfort, Illinois, in which 119 coal miners lost their lives. Reports of investigations of this catastrophe indicate that our knowledge of the means to prevent such disasters has advanced far beyond our determination to take the necessary measures to keep them from recurring.

ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR POWER

Our success in dealing with the problems of mutual concern to labor and the Church will be deeply influenced by the integrity and vision of our future national leadership. On November 4 we will elect a President and members of Congress to guide us in the perilous years ahead. The labor unions are to be heartily commended for their efforts to have their members study the issues and exercise their privileges as citizens at the polls. Any citizen who neglects to exercise those privileges fails to honor those who won for us the sacred right to have something to say about our destiny.

As a nation we face a major peril in our possible failure fully to interpret and accept the heavy responsibility that flows from the power we have as a result of the natural wealth that God has given us. We of the churches, on this day set aside to honor the dignity of labor, should pray for humility that power may not make us arrogant, for moral integrity that our abundance may not betray us into weakness, and for faith that the confusion of our time may not cause us to lose our confidence in the ultimate victory of justice and brotherhood.

Approved by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America and issued through the Department of the Church and Economic Life.

Requested to be read in the churches on Labor Sunday, August 31, 1952, or, if preferred, on September 7, 1952.

Copies of the Labor Sunday Message at 5 cents per copy, \$2.25 per hundred, should be ordered from the Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Buffalo in Retrospect

(Continued from p. 15)

This approach was evident in the talks by four speakers who presented their answers to the question, "How the Churches Can Help Their Members Understand and Practice Christian Vocation." These speakers were Rev. William Berry, associate secretary of evangelism and social service of the United Church of Canada; Mrs. Ella Phillips Stewart, president, National Association of Colored Women; Dr. John Oliver Nelson, associate professor of Christian vocation at Yale Divinity School; and J. Irwin Miller, industrialist.

The point was brought out that the solution is in individual repentance—"not the businessman who repents the sins of the labor leader or the union man repenting the sins of business, or laymen who repent the sins of the clergy nor clergy who repent the sins of the laymen," but "men who, with sweat on their brows, pray, 'Lord, have mercy on me a sinner.'"

THE tone of self-examination appears repeatedly in the reports made by the sixteen occupational groups which recognize the need for "a deep and self-critical humility" to guide the "vast responsibility" of influencing "the opinions and per-

sonal attitudes of others," with "every decision . . . made under the acute consciousness of our personal responsibility under God."

The statement formally adopted by the conference was a brief one in which the delegates declared, "We caught a new vision of our daily work as we studied it in the light of God's will and purpose." They called on their fellow laymen to join them in doing what "God requires of us":

"1. That we work in partnership with Him and in accordance with his laws.

"2. That we work unselfishly for the good of our fellow men.

"3. That as members of the Church we search our hearts as we seek to live up to the highest standards which Christ taught us."

"We are determined," they said in the message, "to work out and apply these Christian principles in our daily work, with full recognition of the cost."

Much credit is due Rev. Cameron Hall, administrative secretary of the conference, for the vision and planning that resulted in the success of this unique meeting. His office at the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., can be a source of help to communities desiring to conduct meetings similar to the Buffalo conference.

Copies of *Report of the North American Lay Conference on The Christian and His Daily Work* may be secured from the Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., 35 cents.

Older Persons in the Labor Force

By GERTRUDE BANCROFT, *Co-ordinator for Manpower Statistics in the Population and Housing Division of the United States Bureau of the Census. Reprinted from The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science. Used by permission.*

THE position of older persons in the labor force today and their probable status during the next few decades should be of absorbing interest to all adults. Among population groups subject to possible disadvantage or discrimination in the labor market, the older group is the most universally vulnerable. Many persons can live out their working lives untouched directly by the factors that adversely affect the employment of women, of Negroes, of the foreign-born or other minority groups, but none can escape the effects of age—as it influences both his own employment and that of someone to whom he is closely related.

It is hardly a revelation to point out that with the advancing age of the population, the number of workers who are retired or facing retirement or striving to remain in the labor force for economic or emotional reasons will be growing every year. Hence, it is important to examine what can be anticipated in the

way of opportunities for older persons to continue to keep their place in the productive economy and to contribute rather than to become wholly dependent on their families or on society.

Attitudes Toward Retirement

Much of the current discussion on the problems of the aging assumes at the start that it is socially and economically desirable for older people to remain employed on some basis as long as they wish to and are able to. Furthermore, most older workers are assumed to want to remain in the labor force. This latter is probably a valid assumption, although it has not had statistical verification except on a limited basis. One piece of evidence is that by no means all workers eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits are receiving them. At the beginning of 1951, about two fifths of the persons 65 and over who were fully insured were not drawing payments, most of them, presumably, because of employment. It may

be inferred that they chose to remain at work.

Other evidence derives from studies of old-age insurance beneficiary "retirements" between 1940 and 1947 made in twenty middle-sized and large cities. These suggest that in those areas retirement of the beneficiaries studied had not been voluntary. Only one in twenty had been able to quit work voluntarily and in good health. After retirement many had again sought and found employment. The compelling reason for return to the labor force seemed to be, not a desire to be busy and useful, but need for additional income to maintain anything like the previous standard of living. These studies were made in fairly large urban centers. In smaller communities or in rural areas, where living costs tend to be lower, the findings might differ.

Definition of "Older Worker"

The use of the comparative adjective "older" in a discussion of this kind is in part an obvious form of escape through euphemism. No one wants to be labeled "old," but all of us are "older" than someone. In part, however, it reflects the elasticity of the concept. Age, like beauty, may be in the eye of the beholder, but it is also closely related, as far as labor force activity is concerned, to occupation. The age at which a person becomes an "older worker" will vary by as much as forty or fifty years de-

pending on whether he or she is a prize fighter, a chorus girl, a ballplayer, a plasterer, a piano tuner, a symphony conductor, a lawyer, or a college president. However, for purposes of summarization, it is necessary to be arbitrary and to ignore these basic differences.

Tradition and social insurance provisions tend to set 65 as the retirement age, but the problems of older persons in the labor force give evidence of their existence before this age. On the basis of the census statistical classifications, older persons in the labor force might be defined as those 55 years old or more. For men, the peak age groups are those from 25 to 54 in the sense that these are the groups that have the largest proportion in the labor force—employed or looking for work. Therefore, the next age group, in which the statistics show a marked dropping off in this proportion, might be said to begin the "older" group.

Older Persons in the Labor Force

Currently, in a typical month one out of every six civilians in the labor force is at least 55 years old. That is, almost 11 million persons working for pay or in a family business, or looking for work, are 55 years old or over. (Three million are 65 or more.) More than 8 million are men; over 2 million, women. Most of the older persons who are not in the labor

force are "voluntarily" idle, retired, or engaged in keeping house (12.6 million). Only 2.3 million are estimated as permanently unable to work or in institutions.

In activities where principles of seniority have been long established or where job security is legal or quasi-legal, such as government, education, or transportation, the older worker has an advantage, or at least is not at a disadvantage. On the other hand, industries in which wage rates are comparatively low, such as agriculture, trade, and some of the service industries, make use of older workers, as they do of youngsters of school age, because they cannot attract the more productive workers in the other age groups. Finally, where small independent enterprises are common, such as in agriculture and trade, the older worker can continue along for many years as his own employer if he can make a go of it financially.

Part-time Employment

Part-time employment has often been proposed as a means by which older persons can remain at work on a basis that takes account of their strength and health. Currently, however, the great majority of older workers are still full-time workers.

Few of the regular part-time workers were in manufacturing, the largest single major industry class. Should a program of planned part-time work for older workers be in-

augurated in this industry to meet labor shortages or as part of a general program for older workers, it is likely that the situation shown by the census study would change markedly. Not only would some workers currently working full time prefer a less exacting schedule, but retired workers might be expected to return to the labor force under those more favorable conditions.

Wartime Experience of Older Persons

Anyone who remained in civilian life during World War II will remember the numerous aged telegraph messenger "girls," delivery "boys," waiters and waitresses, plumbers, doctors, and their contemporaries filling in for younger workers who had gone to war or had transferred to war production jobs, generally at higher rates of pay. These were the people who met the public. Thousands of other older workers were employed in factories or on construction jobs. Statistically, how did the older ones count up? In 1944 there averaged 6.7 million men and women 55 to 64 years old and 2.9 million 65 and over in the labor force—almost 10 million persons or nearly one fifth of the civilians who kept the American economy going. In 1940 the number had been only 8 million or about one seventh of the total.

Generally speaking, the industries that normally employ older workers

relied more heavily on these age groups during the war. Some war plants could cite a few spectacular instances of 70-year-old lady chemists on their payrolls, but those dramatic examples were the exception and are overshadowed by the more pedestrian jobs of the great mass of workers.

Prospects for Older Men

Recent studies have made it possible to estimate the "working life expectancy" of men, using the same techniques that have long been familiar in the field of construction of life tables. This analysis shows that, if past trends continue into the future, we may expect the length of time a man spends in retirement to increase. Advances in medical and other science have prolonged the life span of the average man, but social and economic developments have tended to put a terminal point to his work activity.

To illustrate, a 40-year-old white man in 1900 could be expected, on the average, to live until he was almost 68 years old and to remain at work until he was 64½, having somewhat less than four years retirement. In 1940, however, a 40-year-old white man could, on the average, expect to live until he was 70 but could expect to retire from the labor force about six years before that. If the prewar trend in labor force activity of older males should continue, by 1975 the aver-

age retirement period might extend to nearly nine and a half years.

This calculation for the future, as has been indicated, is based on the assumption that prewar patterns will continue. Considerable discussion currently centers around the probable trends for older men—whether or not the sharp long-term decline in labor force participation of men 65 and over observed between 1890 and 1940 will continue or whether the experience of the wartime and postwar years in the employment of older workers means that a permanent change has taken place in attitudes toward their employment and in their job opportunities.

Reduced Labor Activity

Growing urbanization of the population and the migration away from farms have had the effect of reducing employment opportunities for older workers. In an agricultural economy, many hands are required to meet seasonal and emergency needs, and there is room for the not too efficient worker, both young and old. Another factor operating in the same direction is the increasing longevity of the population. As the group past retirement age consists to a greater and greater extent of septuagenarians, the probability of employment in the group will diminish.

The ability to retire voluntarily from the labor force at an advanced age and to remain self-supporting has

always been rated high in our society. One manifestation of this is, of course, the social security program for old-age insurance and the recent rapid growth of private pension plans, now so important an issue in trade-union policies. There is no reason to believe that, short of a depression, there will be a halt to the development of such plans.

Economic depression in itself would bring about labor force retirements of the most painful kind. The experience of older workers during the Great Depression of the 1930's showed that although they had a lower unemployment rate than the younger workers, they were less able to achieve re-employment, and had longer periods of joblessness. As a consequence, many left the labor force permanently, after the fruitless search for jobs.

Increased Labor Activity

As the defense program steps up, it is expected that man power will again have to be shifted from trade and service pursuits to activities labeled essential, and that again the older person who desires to work may be welcomed to fill the empty jobs in the occupations which traditionally have been open to him. On the basis of World War II experience, close to a million men 55 and over could possibly be added to the labor force. Impetus for them to seek employment has undoubtedly already been given by the rise in the

cost of living and the diminishing value of the dollars they may be receiving in pensions or other forms of fixed income. This last factor may be more important than any other consideration affecting the tendency of older workers to seek employment.

Apart from the needs of the defense program, the factor of cost of retirement is likely to force some permanent changes in policy. The cost of pensioning off larger and larger segments of the population may become an intolerable burden on the economy. Recognition of the need for the productive services of persons past 65 may lead to the adoption, under public or private auspices, of some of the proposals that are now being put forward more or less casually. Various of these require public action, and concern such procedures as reduction of payroll taxes on the earnings of workers past retirement age, or the use of income from the Federal old-age insurance funds to subsidize the earnings of older workers. Another suggestion is to raise the legal retirement age under certain conditions.

Other influences that may act to bring about continuing employment of older men are beyond the province of the economist or the statistician. Perhaps greater sympathy and understanding may obtain as a larger and larger part of the population enters the upper age brackets or numbers a veteran worker in its own family group.

Christian **+** ACTION

WE MUST BRIDGE THE GAPS

"You know, people like us are scared of guys like you!" With this comment, a friend I work with in the shop summed up his attitude toward ministers. This attitude, common to people both in and out of the church, is indicative of the tremendous gap existing between a pastor and people, and between the church and ordinary working people. A pastor, Biblically set apart to do a special work, in modern practice holds a position of just being set apart. When with him, modern standards dictate that we put up an appropriate front. Something has happened which keeps the reclaiming message he bears from getting to those who really long for it so much.

But this is only a symptom of a deeper cleavage. A church that claims to be the bearer of God's mercy and redeeming love for all people has exchanged this radical message for respectability, and thus isolated itself from the common life of many ordinary working people. For example, studies suggest that downtown city churches often serve suburban communities, holding onto large contributors rather than changing their program to include those lower-income families from the industrial and commercial neighborhoods where they are located. (*Marshal Scott, Newsletter, Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, March 15, 1951.*)

The strange and pitiful thing is that this seems to be true in the midst of an age that threatens personal disintegration from within, or annihilation from without. Confusion, anxiety, fear, and tension are the mood of the times; life values are in flux. Depersonalization, loss of easily recogniz-

able meaning in our work apart from wages, and the pressure of incentive and piecework plans in modern industry help tear the industrial worker and his family loose from any anchors they may have had. Along with this has come an increasing fragmentation of life; life is divided up into many isolated spheres of home and family, work, amusement, religion and church until atomization of society and the individual is almost complete.

However, even in the midst of disintegration, life drives toward wholeness—like the healing of a bone. Men and women today are longing and searching for something to anchor to, something that will keep them from falling apart, something that will provide unity, stability, meaning, and purpose to life. Witness the ever growing number of discussion groups and prayer cells in factories and neighborhoods and the numerous personal conversations about the things that really matter.

If the "established" Church is to recover its ability to speak the healing word, the message of redemption through Jesus Christ, we must find a way to bridge the gaps between it and everyday people. Two of the possible approaches, it seems to me, include the following:

1. To overcome ministerial aloofness, ivory-towerism, and a bad kind of professionalism, and to point toward the "set apartness" of every Christian, it may be valid for a minister to identify himself completely with the workaday world—to share in the common productivity of the land. This is a kind of backdoor way of working at reclaiming the place of the layman and the *fellowship* of the congrega-

tion in the life of the church. The growing band of "working preachers" among Roman Catholic priests in France, store-front and sect pastors in America, and even among pastors of "established" Churches is a factor that should be noted.

2. Work at recovering the common fellowship of searchers who read, study, sing, and pray together, by breaking through the "organizationalism" of our churches and permitting people to pray and study the Bible together in little neighborhood or work groups within or without church organizations.

Either the Church must find a way of becoming a better vessel of His love, or God will find another instrument for redeeming his people.

—Donald L. Mathews, pastor, North Presbyterian Church, Kalamazoo, Michigan. (Mr. Mathews is a hob operator for the Fuller Manufacturing Company, maker of heavy-duty truck transmissions, where he works the 11 to 7 shift. He has been employed there since November 6, 1950. It should be stated that Mr. Mathews receives only one salary. His "lost-time" wages are paid by the church.)

SCOTLAND'S CHURCH AND INDUSTRY CONFERENCE

More than one thousand representatives of virtually every section of industry in Scotland attended a conference called by the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh yesterday to prepare a draft constitution for a movement that will bring managements and industrial workers into close active relationship with the service of the Church.

The meeting was attended by, among others, representatives of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, miners, business executives, university professors, and representatives of several denominations. The conference, which had been organized because of the success of the Church of Scotland's industrial chaplaincy scheme, was described by David Walker, chairman of Coatbridge Trades Council, as the greatest thing the Church of Scotland had done in this and probably in any other century.

Lord Bilsland, chairman of the Scottish Council for Development and Industry, said that if laymen had played a greater part in the work of the Church in the past they would not hear so much today of the loss of contact between Church and a large part of the population.

Sir George Schuster said that the whole industrial field was bedeviled with suspi-

cions based on past memories, and even the most honest attempts to improve human relations tended to be viewed with mistrust. The Church of Scotland should spread the idea that work was an essential part of human life and not a cause of conflict. If managements fulfilled their part, it would not be difficult to get the right response from the workers; but managements would be both wrong and unsuccessful if they started to take an interest in the workers merely to improve production.

The theme of the conference was "Christian laymen in society and industry," and Sir George Schuster said that he welcomed the purpose of the conference with his whole heart, particularly because it was intended to be a prelude to action. The great problem was not so much what he wanted to do but how to get it done. Their aim was to launch an organization for bringing constructive Christian influences to bear through the whole field of human relations in industry. From a Christian point of view, what mattered most was how people behaved to each other in all the complex relations involved in modern methods of manufacture.

—London Times, April 28, 1952. Courtesy British Information Services.

WHERE LABOR MEETS MANAGEMENT

Industry and labor, in recent years, have become more and more aware of the value of health measures, both in terms of man-hours and good business economy to everyone in the community. They have, therefore, in many instances supported, subsidized, and sponsored various employee health plans, beginning with the employment of a local physician as an emergency consultant, and progressing to the establishment of plant dispensary with a medical and nursing staff. The last development in this area is the associated health center. As labor and management have a mutual interest in the success of such endeavors, a logical outgrowth is the development of a central unit that is indicative of the combined efforts of labor and management. The Sidney Hillman Medical Center of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the Male Garment Industry of Philadelphia is such a plan.

This project illustrates that management of small manufacturing plants can with the co-operative efforts of organized labor initiate and provide every modern medical aid required to keep its employees physically fit, so as to favor the continuity of production. This program is on a par with some of the best industrial medical programs furnished by big enterprise, and in some instances it excels them.

Briefly, the Center provides preventive medical care on an ambulatory basis to the members of the union on a prepaid medical service plan assumed by the industry. This service embraces every phase of medical service, including diagnostic and specialized care. The original cost of the building and equipment was defrayed by the combined contribution of the union and management. The governing board of trustees consists of equal representation from management and labor.

The services at the Center are free of charge, and no limitation is set with regard to the service available per patient. A co-operative program with the local practitioner has been established. The patients under the care of a private physician receive only those examinations requested by him and a report is sent to him after the procedures have been carried out. Those patients who do not have private physicians are given the benefit of a complete diagnostic series.

During the first year of the Center's operation, May through April, 1952, Dr. Joseph A. Langboard, Medical Director, states that 5,998 patients availed themselves of services, necessitating 45,944 visits.—*Reported by Bernice Shuster, Public Health Counselor, Sidney Hillman Medical Center.*

GARY'S CRIME SUBSIDES

The death of Mary Cheever, high school teacher and member of First Presbyterian Church, was the beginning of a change in the moral life of the city.

The women of Gary took over. When they found themselves organized for action, they were made up of women of all walks of life, political conviction, and religious affiliation. Protestants, Jews, Catholics; Republicans, Democrats, Independents; white and black; rich and poor;

educated and uneducated—each group was represented among the 20,000 women who "signed up" for the battle against crime and political corruption.

Mary was slain by a purse snatcher. It was done in cold blood, and was one of many similar crimes that had become commonplace. But Mary's death seemed the climax of a long series of tragedies, and the women of Gary said, "Now we will take over."

And they did, literally. They pushed the mayor into a corner. They watched the courts, and exposed the travesty of injustice and chicanery taking place daily in the city court. And they did not stop until the city and county were aroused, and spoke their mind at the ballot box. What has happened as a result of this feminine crusade?

The answer: Crime has been receding. Gary is not looked upon as an easy town any longer. A county prosecutor was elected who is courageous and honest, and who has been keeping his campaign promises. He has deputies who are on the square. A city judge was elected who is cleaning up that court record and is writing a new one, clean and wholesome. The entire city has become conscious of the effort to make Gary a law-abiding commu-

nity. The town is not yet lily-white, for this type of corruption is as elusive and deceptive as Satan himself. But crime is on retreat. Prostitution and gambling are at a new low for this city. The largest primary in many years has just been concluded. We hope, in November, to re-elect these good men to office and to elect more of their kind. If we succeed, Gary will be on the way to a new life in which it will take great pride.

"It isn't how far you've gone that counts, but in what direction are you going?" True, and those of us who live here believe that the women of this city have given us a new deal in civic government and community righteousness, and—Gary is now going in the right direction!—*Frederick W. Backemeyer, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Gary, Indiana.*

★ Citizenship ★

SEA GOES TO THE CONVENTIONS

X The Department of Social Education and Action's representative had a ringside seat for the proceedings of the two national political conventions. Visits to campaign and convention headquarters as well as to various committee meetings and caucuses rounded out the picture. It was a worth-while "around the clock" assignment.

Prior to the conventions the Department applied for and was graciously accorded opportunity to be heard by the platform committees of both parties in behalf of the position of the Church on the major issues, covered by the General Assembly pronouncements.

Activities in and of these conventions certainly refute the charge that American democracy is in a decline and subject to dictatorial rule or control. Public opinion made itself heard and felt—in each instance a vivid demonstration of democracy in action. It was rather startling at times

to remember that the fate of a nation was being decided amidst all this razzle-dazzle, hurly-burly, rough-and-tumble commotion. In all probability, the majority of the professional politicians in the parties would not have picked the men chosen, as their first choice. In the words of *The New York Times*, "They accepted these candidates because the popular pressure in favor of the two men suggested the best chance for victory in November."

Both parties gave every evidence of being very much alive. There was violent and open conflict in each convention which seemed to indicate a fighting vigor and vitality. In each there was a major issue that bogged down the proceedings and threatened to disrupt the whole program. In the Republican Convention, it was the so-called "fair-play" amendment over the delegate contests in the Southern states. In the Democratic conclave it was the "loyalty pledge" whereby the "red-hot"

Fair Dealers sought to coerce all states into pledging allegiance to the platform and candidates in advance of their adoption and choice. This was an obvious effort to head off another Dixiecrat revolt such as took place in 1948.

The Democratic Party, though "tried by fire," emerged from the convention more unified than in years. This is not to suppose, however, that the Northern and Southern wings in any sense adopted or agreed upon the same basic principles. In the Republican Party the emotional and ideological rifts went very deep, and it remains to be seen whether the desire for victory can close them.

Unfortunately, platforms seem to be little more than just so much "political verbiage." In the fields of foreign policy, both parties seem to be in general agreement on the future course to be followed. Both pledge support of the United Nations and seem to provide a firm basis for a strong bipartisan foreign policy.

The civil rights plank is more forthright in the Democratic platform, though not so specific as the Northern Democrats tried to make it. In an effort to avoid another "Southern revolt" the language is toned down somewhat this year and an attempt to include an antifilibuster proposal ended in a much-watered-down statement.

Both parties "pledged" statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, special consideration for American Indians, and strengthening of the civil service. While not mentioned in the Republican document, the Democrats promised to continue public housing and slum clearance programs. As to the Taft-Hartley law, the Republicans reaffirmed the basic principles of the act, but called for certain amendments that time had shown were necessary; the Democrats called for its outright repeal.

The significance to be attached to these declarations will become apparent only as they are adopted and implemented by the two nominees and their Congressional sup-

porters. The Southern Democrats seemingly "accepted" their candidate; whether they will support the program remains to be seen.

Television has had an enormous impact upon our national life in respect to convention coverage. The medium of TV may well turn the conventions into gigantic town meetings, affording for millions an insight into democracy at work and a sense of participation, enabling them to take a more informed interest in the "workings" of politics and government.

There were certain similarities in both conventions which seem significant: the fact that both candidates chosen are more or less middle-of-the-road moderates, both were nominated without being committed to "deals." In each instance the office sought the man—in the case of the Democratic choice the first real draft in memory. Another similarity, which may or may not prove politically significant in the fall election, is that both candidates were nominated with the votes of California. Perhaps since the Republicans have one of the California Senators in second place on their ticket this will be a deciding factor.

Other convention high lights were the superb chairmanship of the speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn, the warm personality of General Eisenhower that seemed to permeate to the farthest corner of the Convention Hall, the crying need for streamlining convention practices and procedures, the general disgust at the prevailing type of oratory in both conventions, and the magnificent acceptance speech by Governor Stevenson.

It is an encouraging and happy omen that both convention nominees, as evidenced in their acceptance speeches, are deeply conscious of their responsibilities. In the words of James Reston, writing in *The New York Times*: "It is a long time since the Republican and Democratic parties were both led at the same time by men who will be appealing to the noblest

qualities in the electorate. Eisenhower—when he speaks out of his heart and not out of a ghost writer's file—and Stevenson, a Wilsonian figure, highly literate, idealistic, and urbane, have the capacity to lift the whole project and give it some dignity and perspective."

This final action of both conventions gives us assurance that we may look forward to a relatively high-level campaign fought out on the issues. It remains to be seen whether the rather widely evident desire for a "change" can be compensated by a "new face" in the party in power, or whether it will mean a complete change of party in Washington.

In any case, once again we have had eloquent and assuring testimony to the vigor of American democracy.

—Helen Lineweaver

The Platform Committee

The following statement was presented by Dr. Herbert Brockway, Oak Park, Illinois, to the platform committee of the Democratic Party. A similar one was presented to the Republican platform committee.

I am the spokesman today for the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. by appointment of its Department of Social Education and Action. I represent a Church of more than two million adult members.

I shall bring you six brief statements concerning social issues now before the nation, based upon the official pronouncements of the General Assembly of the Church.

The General Assembly is the highest judicatory of the Church. It meets for seven days each year in the month of May, and is composed of about 900 commissioners, elected from every section of the country—half of them ministers, half lay people, both men and women.

What I present to you is not the opinion of an individual nor of a special group. It is taken from the studied official declarations of the Presbyterian Church by the

department charged with the responsibility for implementing its proposals.

It is our hope that the Democratic Convention will adopt a platform that calls for the following six points:

1. Strong civil rights legislation, both state and Federal, with full implementation to eliminate practices that embarrass our efforts on behalf of a free world. We call for the elimination of segregation within our nation's Capital.

2. The strengthening of our American tradition of personal freedom and fair play. The civil rights of persons have been endangered, and sometimes violated, in many recent efforts to stamp out subversive influences.

3. The prompt ratification by the United States Senate of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

4. An affirmation of faith in the United Nations as a major cornerstone of American foreign policy. Our nation should not regard the United Nations as merely an instrument of convenience to be used or ignored as expediency dictates.

5. The extension of the program of technical assistance, both by our Department of State and through the United Nations, by which social and economic justice is brought to underdeveloped regions. We believe that such programs are of greater significance to the hope of a free world than the development of military strength.

6. The pressing of disarmament proposals previously sponsored by our Government and by the Governments of Great Britain and France in the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, I have copies of these statements for the members of your committee. And attached to each is a marked copy of the social pronouncements of the last General Assembly of our Church, which met in New York City in May of this year.

This I submit respectfully, with sincere thanks for your courtesies and welcome.
(Signed) *Herbert N. Brockway, Fair Oaks Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, Illinois.*

About Books

Windows for the Crown Prince, by Elizabeth Gray Vining. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$4.00.

In this account of her four years in Japan as tutor to the young crown prince Akihito, Elizabeth Gray Vining has given us a book that is valuable in many ways. We can be grateful, first of all, that Mrs. Vining's easy, simple style and selection of appealing detail for her story have won for the book wide popularity. The reader who picks up the book casually to find the answers to such idle questions as: How old is the crown prince? How was a Philadelphia Quaker widow selected for this position? Did she live in the palace? finds the story so charmingly told that he stays with it to learn the answers to far more important questions, such as: Were the war trials fairly conducted? Are the Japanese people sincere in their practice of democracy? What are living conditions in present-day Japan?

For an American audience that still has not forgotten stories of war atrocities, it is extremely valuable to share with Mrs. Vining these four years in which she met unflinching kindness, courtesy, and understanding, witnessed great national courage in the face of poverty and suffering, and experienced a way of life filled with beauty and grace peculiar to the Japanese people.

During her stay, Mrs. Vining enjoyed many unique experiences. In Kyoto she attended a tea ceremony in a house three hundred years old, in which the fourteenth great-grandson of the founder of the tea ceremony lived and taught his art. She attended the celebration of the Doll Festival in the palace with the princesses. She is one of the few Westerners who has attended the Emperor's Poetry Party, an

annual court New Year function held since the tenth century. She took the crown prince alone to meet General MacArthur—the first time he ever went alone with a Westerner to visit a Westerner.

A reader cannot fail to look more hopefully toward the future of Japan, and American relations with that country, after enjoying this intimate account of life at the court, with its detailed portraits of the emperor, empress, and the bright, sincere, lovable crown prince, whom Mrs. Vining called "Jimmy" during his English classes.

—Aurelia Reigner

Credit for the Millions, by Richard Y. Giles. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

This is a brief, interesting, and informative story of the credit unions, a too little known but most significant force in our national financial life. Although marking the one hundredth anniversary of the credit union movement and having the endorsement of the Credit Union National Association, it has no official connection with the movement, frankly expressing elements of weakness as well as those of strength. The book has been well summarized as "the story of man's battle, on the family finance front, against economic exploitation and the physical and spiritual sickness brought on by that exploitation."

After a vivid account of the abuses that people in need of small loans suffered at the hands of "loan sharks" because of their ignorance and need of immediate credit, the author proceeds to present a positive remedy for this situation through credit unions. These he presents as "clubs or co-operatives in which the members pool their savings and lend them to each other." Their value and effectiveness are

found in the fact that "they exist—not for profit or charity, but for service."

The story of the growth of credit unions, their invaluable service, and the personalities chiefly responsible for their success at the outset is well told and examples given as to how they best work.

This is a book that should be read by all ministers and many laymen, especially in rural and industrial communities, where short-term small credit needs are likely to be greatest.

—Harvey E. Holt

Religious Faith and World Culture, edited by William Loos. Prentice-Hall, Inc. \$5.00.

In *Life's* special "Asia" issue last December, F.S.C. Northrop of Yale declared that the clash of cultures "is the rising fact of the world today." Wouldn't it be "something" to get together in one room twenty of the world's leading authorities in economics, political science, psychology, theology and religion, and ask each one to give in thirty minutes the distilled essence of his knowledge and judgment on two questions:

1. How, in our confused era, can we make progress toward developing an all-embracing world culture? 2. How can the resources of religion contribute to the growth of world community?

That is exactly what W. A. Loos, Educational Secretary of the Church Peace Union, has done in this symposium. And for the price of the book you can have the printed record of their statements for repeated study and reference. Fosdick, Allport, Ferré, Silver, Alan Paton, W. R. Matthews, and Amiya Chakravarty are among the contributors.

The writers do not attempt to state some least common denominator of religion as a basis for world culture, nor do they propose any syncretism. But they do point in a definite direction. They offer not a map, but a compass. And that is significant.

—John Maxwell Adams

The Poor Man's Prayer, by George Boyle. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

This is a fascinating story of the beginnings of the credit union in French Canada. Alphonse Desjardins, who pioneered in the founding of the credit union movement which spread through North America, is the hero of the book, and the story is told in fictionalized biography.

The author states that "once I had heard the stories and legends surrounding the name of Alphonse Desjardins . . . this book had to be written. The thought of this man haunted me; in his simplicity, in his awakened social conscience fifty years ago, in his faith, fearlessness, and selfless dedication, he was an interesting human character in his own right."

Credit unions are organizations of people to obtain democratic answers to their own economic problems. Their organization and operation are described in the book, together with the opposition and the struggles that are involved when anyone seeks to champion the cause of the poor.

Desjardins experienced in his youth the privations of the poor, and the results of falling into the hands of a loan shark. There are interesting sidelights here on Canadian politics, for Desjardins was the publisher of debates of the legislature of the Province of Quebec. He lost the contract because of his unwillingness to "doctor" reports.

There are some facts about credit unions in other countries in the book; the Raiffeisen and the Schulze-Delitzsch plans in Germany are briefly described, and some references to the Rochdale pioneers.

With dogged determination and strong faith Desjardins finally won the battle, and the Caisse Populaire succeeded. The Quebec Syndicates Act unanimously passed both Chambers and was considered a model in co-operative law. Out of the labors of this man who felt he had a "social duty" over 1,080 *caisses* were established,

with over \$200,000,000 in assets. Today there are over 9,000 credit unions in the United States, with accumulated savings of one billion dollars.

The "Poor Man's Prayer," which appears on page 203, was abundantly answered.

—Gordon W. Mattice

Crusade, by Roy F. Bergengren. Exposition Press, Inc. \$3.75.

This book is the chronicle of a crusade. Its characters are a multitude, men and women of every race, creed, color, and political opinion: four Presidents of the United States, statesmen, politicians, workers, clergymen, industrial leaders, loan sharks—a bewildering variety of heroes and villains troop through these pages. Its scenes shift constantly to all quarters of the land, as the action shuttles back and forth across the American continent. The author was there, one of the leaders in the crusade.

In the beginning, the crusaders fought against usury. They instituted effective means of helping ordinary folk over their economic rough spots, through democratic joint effort. And in the process they became increasingly aware of the dignity and integrity of the average man. They came to realize that even in business, the theory of the brotherhood of man does work, and that there can be no true political democracy without economic democracy as well.

Still, the crusade was a practical matter, fought in the market place and in the legislative capitals of North America. It led to the enactment of laws by over forty state legislatures and the Congress of the United States. It brought down the terrible rates of interest demanded by loan sharks to fair limits. It supplied credit, on reasonable terms to those who needed it most. It united seven millions of people, in nearly 15,000 organizational units, into a vital force in our economic life today.

This book is the record of that long

fight. It is detailed and specific. It shows the aims of the crusaders, how they proposed to achieve them, wherein their occasional failures and their many triumphs lay, and why.

Beyond that, it carries a message in applied democracy that the world may well heed today. In winning their fight, these crusaders supplied an example of democracy in action which any reader will find inspiring.

Marching off the Map, by Halford E. Luccock. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

A book from the pen of Dr. Luccock, professor of homiletics at Yale Divinity School, is always most welcome. He is the author of some eighteen books, but this is the first collection of his sermons in twenty-eight years.

These twenty-two sermons are stimulating and happy reading. Dr. Luccock has a way of finding eternal truth and significance in every phase of modern life. Quotations and references abound, and he seems to find exactly the right piece of poetry or prose to press home his point. Preachers will find many a usable illustration here, and will be stimulated to "preach" some of these sermon ideas.

With a sensitive spirit, Dr. Luccock in almost every sermon points to the social application of the truth he is proclaiming. "The Church that has a visitation of Pentecostal power will be the one that faces this task of making brotherhood a reality" (p. 149). "There are the lip-servants of democracy . . . who have no use for democracy as an equalization of opportunity, as a more widespread sharing of the commonwealth, or as lifting the cruel oppressions which hold twelve million Negroes in virtual economic and social bondage" (p. 103).

The gay wit and humor of these sermons together with incisiveness of phrase and Biblical interpretation make this a helpful book for pastor or layman.

—Gordon W. Mattice

The Double Standard

A HOT issue of the political campaign is the question of ethical standards in government. Disclosures of favoritism, influence-peddling, bribery, and other serious irregularities on the part of Government servants have aroused the consciences of good people everywhere.

Yet a churchman cannot help wondering about the deeper immorality. He is grieved by every betrayal of public trust, but he recognizes that the disease is a pervasive infection in the entire body politic. Something is wrong, but the trouble is not located entirely in Washington.

Back of every corrupted public employee is a corrupting influence—usually some person seeking private advantage. Often the corruptor is acting within his own bounds of ethical practice. The devious methods he uses do not violate standards commonly accepted in the hurly-burly of business and trade. Here, then, is the paradox—it is “proper” for a person outside of Government to seek favors, but it is highly improper for a man in Government to grant favors.

Dr. Hugh Wilson of Princeton University and others have pointed out that the dominant morality in American life today is that of the business world where expediency is too often the ultimate reference. “It’s all right if you can get away with it.”

The present situation requires symptomatic treatment. We must devise ways of eliminating graft and of improving Government service on all levels—local, state, and national.

At the same time, we must treat the real disease by asserting high ethical standards of behavior in the business and social life of our nation. All men stand in the judgment of God and all share the blame for the present state of morality.

The last General Assembly called upon the Church “to set before the nation the command of God for truth and honor at the very heart of our private and public morality. Only so can there be stability of personal character and durability of our valued social institutions.”



Observing World Order Sunday

IN MANY churches World Order Sunday, October 19, and United Nations Week, October 19-25, will be sincerely observed.

The World Order Day message, appearing on pages 16 and 17, was prepared by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council of Churches. The statement has been adopted by the General Board of the National Council. Ministers are urged to read the message or portions of it from the pulpit on World Order Sunday, or in other ways to bring this important communication to the attention of the people of our churches.

For the observance of United Nations Week, a leaflet providing many valuable suggestions is available from the Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21. This little leaflet includes a number of suggested themes and texts for sermons.

The last General Assembly declared that "the strength of the United Nations depends upon the informed support of Christian people of the world and especially in this country."

Preview

A MAJOR emphasis in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is world order and the United Nations. Norman Cousins, noted editor of *The Saturday Review* and one of America's keenest analysts of public affairs, authors the first article. He gets down to fundamentals in analyzing the central questions of our time—food, peace, freedom. The major issue of the present political campaign, he says, is not the state of the nation but the condition of man.

The second article deals with America's responsibility for Japan's future. It was prepared by Bardwell Smith and James Lancy as one of a series of radio broadcasts for the New Haven Council of Churches. The series, entitled "Religion at the News Desk," is prepared weekly by a group of Protestant specialists in ethics and the social sciences.

An answer to critics of the United Nations is presented by a man who knows the score—Ernest A. Gross, deputy United States representative to the United Nations with the rank of ambassador. Dr. Gross has rendered brilliant service as chief United States spokesman in recent sessions of the Security Council. His speeches in behalf of universal disarmament have commanded front page attention in the leading newspapers of the world.

Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois has made an important contribution to the cause of good government in his work as chairman of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to study the problem of ethics in government. In his article he analyzes the problem in its varied aspects and summarizes the recommendations of the committee. Read the article with care and do your part in urging Congress to put the proposals into effect. The article by Senator Douglas is keyed to articles appearing in the teacher-parent magazines of the Faith and Life curriculum.

Other features of note—the story of the church near the UN headquarters in New York; Margaret Kuhn's story regarding the integration of SEA into the Church's curriculum; Helen Harder's survey of world order study projects; Helen Lineweaver's analysis of the campaign as it affects Congress; Paul Poling's splendid review of an important foreign policy book, *The United Nations and Power Politics*.

How to Make Friends

WE APPLAUD the State Department for "Operation Magic Carpet." During the hot days of late August thousands of the faithful left their homes in all parts of the Moslem world for the holy pilgrimage to Mecca. Many had sold their possessions to make a once-in-a-lifetime trek to the shrine of their faith. Several thousand of them, clutching bargain-priced air tickets, were stranded in Beirut in Lebanon. Three local air lines, lacking equipment, were unable to honor their tickets for the long hop to Jidda in Saudi Arabia, near the holy city.

Alerted by the U. S. minister to Lebanon, the State Department within three days brought to Beirut thirteen huge U.S. C-54's from fields in Germany, France, and Tripoli. The planes flew over 120,000 miles in shuttling 3,763 pilgrims to Jidda. Box lunches had been hastily provided by the American Friends of the Middle East.

This act of friendship has turned out to be a diplomatic triumph in the Arab world where our diplomacy has usually been anything but successful.

Here is the stuff of which world order is made. Our efforts in such programs as Point Four and UN Technical Assistance are more important in the long run than defense alliances and armaments.

—Clifford Earle

Speech for a Presidential Candidate

By NORMAN COUSINS, *Editor, The Saturday Review. Reprinted by permission from the issue of August 2, 1952.*

Fellow Americans:

THIS is my first speech since I was selected to be the candidate of my party for the Presidency of the United States.

The first thing I want to say is that I respect my opponent. I believe he is motivated by high intentions. I cannot assume that those intentions are less high than my own.

I do not believe that my opponent is a Communist or a Fascist or that he is involved in any plot to subvert the Government of the American people. We are both products of a two-party system that can continue to serve the American people only if it earns and receives their respect.

Accordingly, I have requested that my supporters in this campaign refrain from the mudslinging that has unfortunately disfigured so much recent political controversy. We hold lightly the basic decency and intelligence of the American people if we assume that they are less interested in fair-minded debate of the issues than they are in a public competition to destroy character.

In good faith and in complete sincerity, then, I invite my opponent to debate with me the central issue of this campaign as I see it.

The problem at its largest is not the state of the nation but the condition of man. Even before we are members of this or that nation or this or that group we are human beings. As human beings we are confronted today with a common challenge so great as to dwarf by comparison the issues and problems that exist within the nation or between the nations.

THIS human community of ours is not an organized community, but it is a community nonetheless. We reside on the same planet. That planet has now become a single neighborhood. We have common needs, common dangers, common hopes, common fears. This is the central meaning of our times; it is what distinguishes the twentieth century from all previous centuries. The human family, starting as a single unit and spreading into separate lands, has crossed the last frontier only to create a single unit of itself again. Is this unit, this neighborhood, to become a safe and proper place for man?

The problem at its largest, then, is the problem of human destiny. It is the problem of a human family that has made the world small with-

out making it whole. We must not allow the political and ideological questions that absorb us and torment us to obscure that fact. We must not allow the pressures and tensions of international unrest, which are part of the problem, to be viewed as the entire problem.

Ir is in this spirit that I speak to you today. For the real issues of this campaign, it seems to me, are far broader and potentially far more inspiring than the usual issues over which we argue so mightily in a Presidential year. The real issues center around the meaning of America in the present human crisis. They concern our ability to understand what moral leadership and moral responsibility mean. Let the campaign be decided not according to the special favors we promise Americans but according to the sacrifices we ask of them in justifying our favored position in this world.

I have no doubts about the capacity of the American people to respond to that type of appeal. Indeed, the great mistake we made in recent years was to assume that Americans would mobilize and sacrifice for war but would not mobilize and sacrifice equally for peace. I believe deeply in the natural greatness and natural goodness of the American people. I believe this greatness and goodness has only to be appealed to in order to become manifest.

The test of a democracy in a time of crisis is measured not so much by the confidence of the people in their government as by the confidence of the government in the people. No greater mistake can be made by leaders of a free people than to hold back in what has to be done because of doubts they may hold that the people may not be ready for big decisions.

What specifically are the big decisions of which I speak? These decisions are concerned with the problem at its largest that I referred to a moment ago; which, to repeat, is whether the world neighborhood is to be made safe and congenial for human beings.

HERE are some facts that are related to that problem.

The first fact is that every four years there are 100,000,000 more people in the world—which is the equivalent of the population of a new major nation.

The second fact is that the good earth is shrinking. Each year billions of acres are abandoned because they can no longer yield food.

The third fact is that the world's mineral resources are not inexhaustible.

The fourth fact is that a large portion of the resources and vital energies of the world's peoples are being poured into preparation for war.

The fifth fact is that another war,

if it comes, will be fought with whatever weapons are available. So far no adequate defense has been devised against such weapons.

The sixth fact, related to the fifth, is that another major war may not necessarily alter the conditions that make human life possible on this planet, but it could destroy industrial society, decimate the world's population, enfeeble peoples everywhere, and deprive them of such means as are now available for attacking hunger, disease, homelessness.

The seventh fact is that we live in an age that is trying to find itself. If any description can be given to our generation—and here I am thinking of all men everywhere—it is that this is a generation in search of its soul.

The eighth fact is that almost half the people in the world are hungry or sick or poorly housed.

The ninth fact is that many of the world's peoples are shopping for a revolution. These peoples do not have to be persuaded of the importance of freedom, but the longing for freedom takes different forms in different places.

The tenth and final fact is that the human race today is without representation in those matters of common concern to all peoples. Such representation as the individual does possess is largely nominal and is not concerned with the basic threats to his existence. A nation may attempt

to provide justice for dealings between its own citizens, but it cannot protect its citizens against injustice between nations—and the consequences of injustice between nations are far more dangerous to the individual today than injustice between citizens within a nation.

THESE ten facts, I believe, represent the central questions of our time. Food, peace, freedom. These are the big challenges arising from these facts. No nation, no people, can exempt itself from the need to ponder them; Americans least of all, because of our position of potential leadership, can afford to ignore them or regard them as secondary to other issues. I certainly do not believe these issues are to be avoided in the present political campaign. Only when we see, study, and tackle these issues in their boldest outlines will we have earned the right and perhaps the luxury to indulge ourselves in the conventional type of election-year campaigning and debating.

I am willing to admit to my opponent that I do not have all the answers to all these questions. I believe that the answers are not beyond our comprehension. The predicament is a human predicament, one clearly within our reach to solve.

As we think about these ten facts or questions, certain things do come to mind. We know, for example, that there is an answer to the shrinkage

of the world's arable land. In the agricultural laboratories today we stand on the threshold of astounding discoveries that can reclaim vast lands now given up for dust. Already there have been developed rejuvenating chemicals that have substantially increased the food yield, or that have compensated for loss of rain. New types and sources of food are being developed. Chemical gardening and farming is a rich and fast-growing new prospect.

We know, too, that vast new sources of energy are opening up. Much more research needs to be done in tapping and utilizing the boundless energy of the sun, but even now the scientists have been able to develop on a modest scale solar heat traps. These traps can be used for small energy requirements, for heating, or for refrigeration. The promise and potential usefulness of such sun traps for countries of large agricultural populations near the equator excites the imagination.

ANOTHER highly promising development concerns the utilization of the vast resources of the oceans. We have yet to make an intensive and full-scale exploration of all the possibilities. Already, however, magnesium and other resources yielded up by the oceans give us bright and reasonable expectations concerning the shape of things to come.

All this even before we mention atomic energy. So far, the overwhelming bulk of the efforts of science has gone into the use of atomic energy for purposes of war. But even the comparatively modest efforts made thus far for purposes of power and medicine have been enormously productive and promising.

ALL these mind-stretching new developments—in agricultural and chemical research, in mining the ocean's wealth, in solar and atomic energy—make it theoretically possible for us to solve the present critical dwindling food supply and resources at a time of increasing population. In fact, there is now the distinct possibility that we can bring about a golden age of man. Up to now, only certain peoples at certain times have been favored by a golden age. But we know today that a golden age of the human community is a distinct promise. We have the skill, we have the knowledge, we have the means.

How can we fulfill such a promise? Obviously, little or nothing can be done so long as the world's peoples live under war or the fear of war. Our energies, our ingenuity, our imagination—no less than our resources and our wealth—are poured into the means of physical protection against violence in a lawless world. We are arming ourselves, but we know that armaments are not

the final answer. We arm, but we are not deceiving ourselves about the cost—in the expenditure of human effort and money, in the increasing strain upon our economy, in the pressures and tensions it creates within the nation, and, finally, in delaying or blocking the release of our energies in the making of a better world.

Yes, we arm, but there must be some other and better way to protect peoples against lawlessness. Surely the destiny of the human community must be something finer and more meaningful than a precarious existence under the shadow of guns and bombs. I cannot bring myself to believe that the human mind, capable of almost infinite comprehension and inventiveness, cannot devise the means of enforceable peace. Nor can I bring myself to believe that a few predatory states could effectively block the firmly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples to establish the rule of law among nations.

War is an invention of the human will. The human will can invent peace.

MY PLATFORM, then, is a simple one. I propose that we Americans dedicate ourselves to the cause of the human community. I propose that we invite representatives of all peoples to join with us in considering the problems of man within the

framework of human destiny and not within the narrow framework of coalitions or alliances. I propose a fresh start within the United Nations. Let us not be timid about what the United Nations needs or what it must become if it is to eliminate anarchy from the world neighborhood. Let us not shrink from the concept of government on a world scale. This is what the human race needs. This is what it deserves.

The response of certain leaders of certain nations to such a proposal does not trouble me. I am more concerned about the genuineness and good faith of our own proposal. I know, too, that it will be impossible for such rulers to keep from their people the fact that there is a mighty movement in the world on behalf of peace, food, and freedom, or that this movement has behind it the integrity, sincerity, and resoluteness of countless millions of human beings. It is not an exclusive or selfish movement. It seeks nothing except the greater good of man.

What others may fail to do is of less concern to me than what we ourselves fail to do. The forward thrusts in history have not always been the product of universal assent but of courageous and persistent leadership behind a great idea. Ours is the business of hope. Let us not undervalue the striking power of the idea and hope that purposeful peace is possible and that the golden age of man can be a reality.

America's Responsibility for Japan's Future

By **BARDWELL SMITH** and **JAMES LANEY**; a radio commentary for "*Religion at the News Desk*," New Haven, Conn.

NEWS of major strikes and the fortunes of Presidential candidates have dominated the headlines these past weeks. As usual, fresh, immediate issues captured our attention. These overshadowed long-term continuing problems at home and abroad. Since the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty, for instance, few of us have given much thought to the ongoing problem of America's relations with Japan.

Just recently, however, we received a tape recording from American missionaries who express views that are widespread in Japan. Their remarks brought home to us with a fresh urgency the importance of the United States' policy toward Japan. These missionaries point out that the big question in the minds of the Japanese is what America will do in the years *after* the peace treaty. To us this doesn't seem to be a problem of great importance. But what seems unimportant to us is a matter of utmost concern for the Japanese. One missionary put it this way: "Here in Japan today no problem is receiving more serious attention than the problem of future American-Japanese relations."

Since the armistice in 1945, Ja-

pan has been dependent upon the United States. Although the occupation is now officially at an end, our actions will continue to influence Japan's stability. So it is easy to understand Japan's concern over what we will do—or fail to do—in the future. That is why Congressmen's speeches we never hear of make headline stories in Japan. Another missionary tells us this: "American foreign policy is a major topic of thought and discussion in Japan. The importance given to the current actions of our Government and the pronouncements of national figures cannot be exaggerated. Newspapers and conversations, magazines and conferences, radio broadcasts and lectures, all carry references to American policy, American attitudes, American prejudices."

Mutual Friendship

We can point with a measure of real pride to the reconciliation that has taken place between the United States and Japan since the war. The military occupation produced respect and friendship rather than bitterness. The treaty signed at San Francisco last year has been called

"the most generous peace treaty in history."

We are in danger, however, of undercutting all the gains of the past six years if we think of the peace treaty as ending all our responsibilities. For the achievements which the treaty represents are left hanging in mid-air unless American concern and responsibility for Japan continue into the future.

After the Treaty?

Now that the peace treaty has been signed, most Americans would like to forget about Japan. The hard fact is that the treaty does not solve Japan's basic problems. The treaty stripped Japan of her possessions—Korea, Manchuria, Formosa. This means that her population of 84 millions must crowd into an area about the size of California. Moreover, only about 10 per cent of the land is farmable. Obviously Japan cannot feed her own people. She must develop her industry, and count on trading what she manufactures for foodstuffs. With a reduced territory and an expanding population, Japan finds that international trade is absolutely essential for her survival.

It was overcrowded population combined with trade troubles that started Japan down the trail of aggression which ended in Pearl Harbor. The same problems are plaguing Japan today. If Japan is to become a strong nation, if she is to stand as a bulwark of freedom

against Communism in Asia, then these basic problems must be solved. Japan looks to America for help in solving these problems. She is right in seeing the profound effects which our policies will have in the Far East. We are in a place of leadership, and we cannot escape our responsibilities for the future well-being of Japan.

Since the armistice in 1945, the United States has taken the responsibility for helping Japan to put her economy back into working condition. This has involved a considerable amount of economic aid. Many people now feel that since the treaty has been signed, Japan should stand on her own feet without depending on continued American aid. Especially in an election year, Congressmen find it an irresistible temptation to slash foreign economic aid in the hope of getting votes. The result is that economic aid to Japan will likely be reduced.

Importance of Trade

A second fact to remember is that Japan is abiding by the United Nations embargo on Communist China. Considering the fact that the Chinese are defying the UN in Korea, it certainly is not possible to let Japan trade with her. The embargo must be upheld. But this places a heavy burden upon Japan. Trade is essential for her national well-being. Before the war, about one third of Japan's foreign trade

was with China. Now the embargo cuts off this market, and Japan must look elsewhere for trade. We have been encouraging her to turn to the area of southeast Asia for markets. But here Japan would compete with England, whose shaky economy needs all the markets it can find. At any rate, the markets in southeast Asia come nowhere near filling the gap left by the embargo on China.

The United States has always been a good customer for Japan. But here too she is running into trouble. For instance, Japanese canned tuna fish has undersold American brands of tuna, giving Japan a good market for her product. This seems like a minor matter to most Americans, yet tuna fishing and canning is a major industry in Japan, second only to silk in importance. Now the American tuna interests are applying strong pressure upon Congress to raise the tariff on tuna imported from Japan. This is a natural reaction by Americans who are threatened by stiff competition. But if the tariff is raised, it will be another blow to Japan's industry.

What can the Christian say about this complicated situation? At least two things. In the first place, Christians take seriously the command to "love thy neighbor." Our love for the Japanese includes the desire that these people should have an independent and self-respecting nation.

They must take their place as an equal in the community of free nations.

Our Responsibility

This does not mean that the answer lies in more American charity. The people of Japan are certainly not asking for a handout. What they want now is a chance to stand on their own feet without having to depend upon America. They want to develop their industry and expand their markets for trading their products for those of other countries. What concerns Japan is not a cut in aid. It is the chance that our policy may be warped by the self-interest of small pressure groups.

Our Christian faith forbids us simply to sign a peace treaty with Japan, and then forget her, leaving her fate to be decided by special interests in the U.S.A. Our faith demands that we continue to face seriously our responsibilities to Japan, helping her to become a healthy nation.

A second thing a Christian must affirm is that God has created us in community with one another, and that we are all interdependent. This means that we can't decide all our problems simply by reference to our personal self-interest. Everything we do, and the things we fail to do, have an effect for good or for ill upon other people, and we are responsible for the results of all our actions.

Answer to U N Critics

By ERNEST A. GROSS, *deputy U.S. representative to the UN with rank of ambassador. Excerpts from The New York Times Magazine, April 27, 1952. Used by permission.*

TODAY the United Nations is the target of a great deal of criticism. It is called a powerless debating society, a mere forum for propaganda. It is censured for not having dealt effectively with the cause of most of the world's present troubles, the deep conflict between Soviet Russia and the free world. It is blamed for "never settling anything." Not only its performance but even its basic aims are sometimes questioned.

These doubts must be cleared away. In the light of world actualities the UN is doing a good job—and a vital one.

What is the United Nations doing—what can it do—to fulfill the principles of the Charter and help to build the foundations of free-world strength? I see at least four different ways in which the UN is making important progress toward this objective, as well as helping the free world to meet the menace of Soviet imperialism.

The Open Forum

Preoccupied as we are with the tensions created by the conflict between the Soviet system and the free world, it is easy to lose sight of the

role which the UN constantly plays in respect to disputes and controversies arising within the free world itself. Some of the most striking successes of the UN have involved settlement of bitter and dangerous conflicts of this sort in which the UN has successfully brought to an end hostilities which, if unchecked, threatened to become widespread conflagrations. Kashmir, Palestine, and Indonesia are but three examples.

We Americans naturally tend to think of aggression or invasion in terms of the threat of Communist imperialism. However, for many other peoples and countries the most direct and immediate threat, real or imagined, may come from a next-door neighbor or may arise out of explosive disputes too long unresolved. The possibility of recourse to the United Nations is not merely a reassuring factor, but it is a means of obtaining protection or redress which removes a sense of compulsion to resort to force.

The United Nations reveals weak spots and important problems within the free world itself. Emergent nationalisms in many parts of the world find voice. They are not

left to develop volcanic force under the surface only, later to result in violent explosions. When international disputes arise covering these problems and efforts to seek solutions by negotiations have been exhausted, the United Nations can be used to promote agreement.

In addition, the conflict between the Soviet system and the free world makes the existence of the forum even more imperative. The fact that Soviet leaders and their satellites are accountable to the United Nations deprives them of certain advantages which dictators in former periods of history have enjoyed, such as operating in dark corners and conspiring against intended victims one at a time.

The existence of a standing forum for discussion and negotiation is of crucial importance. Settlements of specific issues will be brought about, if at all, by patient, firm, and continuous effort on the part of the free world, backed by sufficient strength to assure observance of specific agreements by the other side.

The United Nations, then, is an important forum for the exposure and discussion of problems of world concern and a forum in which Communist imperialism is constantly revealing its dangerous nature and purposes. Truth and knowledge in themselves create moral unity in the world. Nations need not cower in fear of the unknown.

October, 1952

Collective Action

The abuse of the veto by the Soviet Union in the Security Council has, of course, made it impossible to rely upon the Council as the sole United Nations instrument for the maintenance of security in all cases. But the United Nations can, nevertheless, play an important role in the age-old quest for collective security.

In the first place, the Charter itself formulates general standards and objectives by which national policies can be tested, both in the case of individual national action, such as the Truman Doctrine, and in the activities of regional organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty. One of the most important aspects of our program of aid to Greece and Turkey was the declaration by the Congress of the United States that the aid was to be administered in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The moral influence of the program was vastly heightened by the fact that the Congress waived our right under the Charter to veto any such decision by the United Nations.

Secondly, the role of the General Assembly, where the majority will cannot be frustrated by the veto, has become increasingly important. We are bending our efforts to find methods for increasing its effectiveness.

One of the most important steps

in this direction was the adoption by the General Assembly a year ago of the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution.

The essential elements of the framework of a collective security system are contained in this Resolution: the means for determining the existence of and the responsibility for aggression (through the Peace Observation Commission); machinery for putting collective measures into operation (through emergency sessions of the General Assembly); and military forces in readiness to carry out those measures.

By the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution, the United Nations, drawing upon the constitutional powers inherent in the Charter, has put itself in position to create an organized system of collective defense in spite of Soviet obstruction.

There is still much to be done and it will take time to do it. But the United Nations now has a veto-proof procedure for bringing a real collective defense program into being.

Thirdly, the work of the Disarmament Commission, established by the Sixth General Assembly, is of the greatest importance. The efforts to achieve disarmament are painfully difficult but are all the more essential for that very reason. They reflect the strong moral urge of people everywhere to build toward a future in which resources now being diverted to economically unproduc-

tive purposes can be used for the betterment of mankind.

Human Rights and Political Freedom

The expansion of human rights creates strength in support of the free world by satisfying one of the deepest human aspirations. The United Nations is a valuable instrument for observing, promoting, and cultivating universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There are hundreds of millions of people in the world today who are awakening to the urge for liberty and freedom. Seventy millions of them two years ago formed a new and independent state—with our help and that of the United Nations. The principles of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights are incorporated into the constitution of that new state—Indonesia.

Members of the United Nations which have responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government have pledged themselves in the Charter to insure the inhabitants of such territories political, economic, social, and educational advancement, just treatment, and protection against abuses.

The United Nations has not merely paid lip service to the broad principles of political independence. It has in the few brief years of its

existence already supported the creation of new states—Indonesia, Israel, Libya, and the Republic of Korea, and it is a remarkable fact that all this has been done in the face of Soviet obstruction or non-co-operation.

Improve Economic Conditions

A large part of the work of the United Nations is devoted to an attack upon the natural enemies of man: poverty, disease, and despair. The Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and all the United Nations specialized agencies, are doing some of the essential work of the world.

The program of expanded technical assistance to underdeveloped areas has kindled the imagination of the world's people, simply because a steel plow will cut a deeper furrow than good intentions.

The United Nations can deal effectively with problems of unrest and instability in underdeveloped countries. It is essential that it do so, for these problems affect our military establishment, our trade and commerce, our sources of raw materials, and, what is more important, our basic friendship with other countries. They thus affect our own standard of living and our hopes for peaceful development.

Like all human institutions, the United Nations has a life and vitality all its own. This arises from the interplay of points of view ex-

changed in the forum, from group pressures and moral judgments, from the contributions of a devoted and efficient international civil service, and from the leadership of representatives of member Governments who form a special diplomatic corps in the new field of "multilateral diplomacy."

However, in the last analysis, the United Nations is an instrument of policy of its member states. It is primarily an agency in which Governments can speak and through which they can act. It is subject to misuse, abuse, and nonuse. It is also capable of growth and improvement. This being so, much of the criticism that is directed against it is in reality self-criticism. Many of those who attack the United Nations or deplore its shortcomings might well consider whether they are not in fact criticizing the failure of their own Governments to make the most effective use of the organization in accordance with its scope, its promise, and its capabilities.

The future course of Soviet conduct will determine to a large extent whether and for how long the promises of San Francisco remain unfulfilled. In the meantime, the United Nations will serve as one of the major instruments for holding open the door to negotiation and for strengthening the free world by helping to build the foundations of freedom. That strength will hasten the day of fulfillment.

The New Role World Order Day Message

IN THE past turbulent decade the United States has been drawn into a new position among the nations. Geographically, economically, and militarily our country has become the most powerful nation in the free world. This tremendous new power carries with it a tremendous moral responsibility. We are not fully prepared for this responsibility because we have accepted only halfheartedly the guidance of a God who is above every nation.

Decisions we as a people make affect profoundly for good or for ill, not only persons within our borders, but untold millions of God's children throughout the world. Actions of our Congress and policies of our State Department may mean life or death, freedom or tyranny for people in distant lands. Each one of us, in whose name our Government acts, has a personal moral responsibility for the direction and consequences of our foreign policy.

What is the responsibility of the United States in this new role in the world of nations? There are those who want our country to withdraw from the struggle and to let the rest of the world go by. They want to return to the "splendid isolation" of a bygone era. "We are powerful enough," they say, "to live our own life in peace and security."

There are others, who believe that the United States should have an active foreign policy, especially in Asia, but who insist that we go it alone. They are tired of the slow and difficult task of negotiating with other countries and working out differences in the United Nations. "We are powerful enough," they say, "to strike out on our own."

There are a few who want the United States to launch a "holy war" and have it over with. They want to end the cold war with a hot one on our terms. "We are powerful enough," they say, "to tell the Russians where to get off. A few well-delivered atom bombs will bring them to their senses."

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. calls upon all our citizens to reject these proposals. They are morally wrong and would undermine, if not destroy, positive efforts toward a more just and peaceful world. Those who make these proposals deny our dependence upon other peoples and reject our responsibility under God to them. They fail to recognize that God creates us, not in isolation, but in community.

As Christians we believe in the essential unity of mankind under a God

United States

day, October 19, 1952.

who cares for every person. We believe that every nation is accountable to God and shares some responsibility for the welfare of other nations. We reaffirm our conviction that the United States must co-operate with all nations and dependent areas in their struggle for freedom and justice. Our national self-interest must be defined in terms broad enough to include the rights and needs of other peoples. We urge the United States to continue and to increase its support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

We urge all our citizens to study the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to work unceasingly to weave the principles of this Declaration into the warp and woof of our national life. The efforts of the United States toward fuller political, economic, and social rights abroad will continue to suffer under charges of hypocrisy until we guarantee more effectively these rights at home. We believe these rights flow from the recognition that every person is of equal worth under God.

We support the United States program of economic aid and technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the world. Persons who are sent abroad in this program should share, not only their technical skill, but the spirit in which this aid is given. When such help can be given more effectively through the United Nations, we urge our country to use that channel.

When U.S. military aid is given abroad, we urge that such aid should not be used to thwart the legitimate aspirations of oppressed peoples for freedom and justice.

Millions of our fellow men are homeless refugees. We should make it possible for a larger number of them to begin a new life in our country. The United States has been greatly enriched by opening its doors to Displaced Persons and refugees.

The great power and vast resources of the United States are not our own to do with as we please. They are the gifts of God, and we are accountable to God and to our fellow men for their use. Let us accept this great responsibility with humility and courage, remembering the words of our Lord: "Every one to whom much is given, of him will much be required."

—*An Official Statement adopted by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., June 11, 1952. Used by permission.*

Faith and Life Curriculum

Solid Substance for Our Teaching Program

THE October-December quarterly teacher-parent magazines of our Faith and Life curriculum present a series of pertinent and important articles dealing with Christian integrity and moral responsibility in public life.

Although this is the first quarterly period when four of the magazines have carried the same social action emphasis or theme, some of the social concerns of our Church have been frequently interpreted in our Church's teaching materials. Curriculum editors and the Social Education and Action staff have planned these SEA features co-operatively, thus carrying forward one of the most fundamental objectives of Christian education in the Presbyterian Church—relating faith to life and its daily responsibilities.

All curricular magazines are carefully read by the SEA staff in manuscript—for their SEA content. Each lesson and article is analyzed for its social philosophy to determine whether or not it is in line with the stand of General Assembly.

The editors make frequent use of our social action files and resources and consult with the staff in the choice of subject matter and au-

thors for each of the magazines. In this way, SEA is being built into our Church's teaching program for children, young people, and adults.

Social education and action leaders in churches and presbyteries and presbyterials should read these articles and commend them to church school teachers and superintendents as they teach this quarter's lessons. These leaders and church school superintendents should work together to see that persons with social vision and commitment are chosen to teach in our church schools. They can help, also, in interpreting to parents' groups the social issues that confront our Church.

Crossroads—"The Church and Good Government," by Thomas B. Keehn.

Discovery—"Building Moral Integrity in Our World," by Sylvanus M. Duvall, S.T.M., Ph.D.

Opening Doors—"Christian Integrity in Public Life," by Albert J. Nesbitt.

Growing—"The Children's Teeth Are Set on Edge," by Andrew T. L. Armstrong.

—Margaret E. Kuhn, Associate Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

Ethical Standards in Government

By PAUL H. DOUGLAS, *United States Senator from Illinois, and chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to consider the establishment of a Commission on Ethics in the Federal Government. Excerpts of an article from The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1952. Used with permission.*

PURSUANT to a referral to it by the Senate of a proposed resolution (introduced by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas) to establish a Commission on Ethics in the Federal Government, a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in 1951 held hearings and took extensive testimony from a broadly representative group of distinguished witnesses. These hearings have been published and a summary report with recommendations has been issued.

The Magnitude of the Problem

As summarized by the subcommittee, the factors contributing to the over-all problem may be stated in this way:

1. In this day of big government there is much at stake in public policies which directly affects the income and welfare of individuals, industries, and groups.
2. Members of Congress have almost free discretion in making these policies, and administra-

tive officials have great discretion in administering them.

3. The great authority vested in elected officials is justified by the principle that they, as representatives of the public, will exercise their authority in the public interest and for public purposes; similarly, the discretionary authority delegated to administrators is based on the assumption that they will exercise it reasonably in accordance with public policies, and for the furtherance of public purposes.
4. Although the importance of the issues, the breadth of discretion involved, and the basic nature of responsible government make it necessary that as far as humanly possible issues shall be decided on their merits, interested parties are not willing to let the wheels of government turn unassisted, but in a great variety of ways bring pressure to bear upon legislators and administrators

in order to secure favorable decisions.

From these basic factors emerge special problems, most of which, in the opinion of the witnesses, call for corrective action by the Government.

Problems of Prior Employment

One of the most pressing problems is that the Government is employing mature, well-established businessmen, especially in numerous positions in defense agencies which deal directly with the very industries from which they recently came. Can they be perfectly fair if cases come before them which directly or indirectly involve the company from which they came? Can they be completely objective in decisions that affect their industry? Are they employed without compensation (W.O.C.) or at a dollar a year, continuing to draw a corporation salary while on leave for public service? Some believe that these men should be as dependent on the Government as salary can make them, and that a W.O.C. status is improper. Others say, however, that many able businessmen cannot afford to come into the Government if they have to drop from the industrial to the Government scale of compensation for executives.

Problems of Subsequent Employment

Another situation fraught with danger is the later affiliation of

Government servants with business concerns with which they have had official dealings. Public employees who place or settle contracts, recommend loans, award subsidies, or make similar decisions directly touching persons or firms that do business with the Government and then leave the Government to take positions with these same firms inevitably raise doubts as to how impartial they were when they decided these issues while in the Government. If their new salary is out of line with the old (after allowing for differences in the business scale), this doubt is further strengthened.

Problems of Becoming Unduly Involved

A recognized problem of long standing is that of public officials becoming unduly involved with persons, concerns, or industries that are affected by their decisions. There is a strong presumption that a substantial economic involvement will create either a bias or an emotional problem through fear of bias. It is generally agreed, therefore, that any such involvement should be avoided. This is the purpose of the conflict-of-interest statutes, and of the law of incompatible offices.

Involvements which it is generally agreed must be avoided include salaries, fees, and other compensation from business concerns, direct or indirect ownership of concerns doing business with the Government,

speculation in securities or commodities in a field touching that in which the public servant has official functions.

The recent disclosures have also shown that one of the most common ways in which interested parties seduce public officials is through costly gifts and expensive entertainment. Many men profess to see nothing wrong in this and state that it will not affect the attitude of the official. This is excessively naïve.

Problems of Economic and Political Involvement: Congress

The pressures on members of Congress that create ethical problems are of several varieties. One is financial pressure. Campaigning is costly. Where shall the candidate seek funds to help with his primary or his final campaign? Politics is not classifiable as philanthropy for tax purposes, and the average voters, including those who are most harsh in their judgment of politicians, do not contribute to campaign funds. The normal candidate's only recourse is to the more actively interested persons or groups that are in politics to protect their interests.

Being the nominee of his party places the candidate under some obligation to the party; but who has a right to define its policy? The candidate, or the professional workers below decks who run the "ma-

chine"? Assuming that some consideration of each for the other is normal, how far shall a successful candidate go in honoring obligations which the machine has assumed? In a complex industrial society these questions get rather complex.

The financial pressure does not end with the campaign. The Senator or Representative has abnormal expenses. Maintaining a residence in Washington, in addition to keeping his roots in his home soil, is expensive. To keep in touch also, he generally needs to come home frequently for short visits. Travel is costly, and the Government pays for only one trip per session. A Senator or Representative is a public figure and fair game for solicitors for all worthy causes. Even small contributions add up. Some members, particularly from the more populous states, find the allowances for clerk hire insufficient to cover the cost of maintaining their offices.

The upshot is that a majority of the members of Congress find it necessary to supplement their salary in some way. Were Congress meeting but six months or less a year, as it once did, there would be no serious difficulty, but membership is now practically a year-round activity, which, with the duties of campaigning, leaves little time to engage in other activities.

Differences of degree, usually accompanied by differences in motiva-

tion, change the character of improprieties. Gifts and favors that may begin as entirely innocent practices become improper when they begin to affect the public servant's ability to act for the public as agent or representative, fairly and objectively.

Politics itself can give rise to embarrassing conflicts of interest. When men are appointed to important administrative positions, often with the clearance and approval of county and state political organizations, or national committees, or members of the Senate and House of Representatives, should they feel especially obligated to their political sponsors? If so, to what extent? Often political sponsors take a proprietary interest in departments or agencies in which they have helped to place men in key positions, and if their interest is pushed aggressively, it creates serious ethical problems for the administrator.

Campaign Methods

Just as serious as the problem of campaign finance is that of campaign methods. Here the root of the problem is a tendency in campaigning to disregard the truth. The worth of the election system in representative government depends upon its being an extension of the legislative discussion of issues and policies. This is intended to be a process of revealing and of weighing the facts. If mendacity, misrep-

resentation, and irresponsible statements characterize electioneering, the mind and emotions of the public are immediately exploited, and in the long run the whole electoral process is discredited. These facts are apparent to members of Congress, and from the testimony we received, it is evident that the public is also beginning to be aware of and concerned about the trend of campaigning. The level of responsibility and truth-telling is below that which the public in its heart approves. The fact that violators of reasonable standards may win an election is not evidence to the contrary. The European dictators demonstrated that it is possible to exploit the democratic tradition—a tradition of responsibility and reasonableness—by ruthless methods. As with monetary inflation, those who deliberately depreciate the currency of language can keep one step ahead of the rate of exchange.

Summary of Recommendations

As a result of these complaints and disclosures, the subcommittee concluded that:

1. *A Commission on Ethics in Government* should be established by joint resolution of Congress. It would investigate and report to the President and to the Congress on the moral standards of the official conduct of persons and groups doing business with the Government or seeking to influence public policy

and administration. And, secondly, it would report on the moral standards generally prevailing in society which condition the conduct of public affairs or which affect the strength and unity of the nation.

The commission should have power to hold hearings and secure testimony and evidence, authority to employ staff, and funds to carry on its work. It should terminate thirty days after submitting its final report.

2. *The Administrative Procedure Act* should be amended to provide that the following practices shall be improper for Federal officials and employees and shall be grounds for summary dismissal from the Federal service:

a. Engaging in any personal business transaction or private arrangement for personal profit which accrues from or is based upon the official position, authority, or confidential information of the official or employee.

b. Accepting any valuable gift, favor, or service directly or indirectly from any person or organization with which the official or employee transacts business for the Government.

c. Discussing future employment outside the Government with a person or organization with which there is pending official business.

d. Divulging valuable commercial or economic information of a confidential character to unauthorized

persons or releasing such information in advance of its authorized release date.

e. Becoming unduly involved, for example, through frequent luncheons, dinners, parties, or other expensive social engagements with persons outside the Government with whom they do official business.

3. *Legislation should be enacted* requiring all members of Congress, all Federal officials receiving a salary of \$10,000 or more, or who are in positions of GS-15 and above, or of equivalent rank, and the principal officials of national political parties to disclose their incomes, assets, and all dealings in securities and commodities.

4. *The laws governing conflicts* of interest and bribery should be amended to correct inconsistencies, close loopholes, and extend their coverage.

5. *Congress should encourage private citizens* to establish a nonpartisan, national citizens' organization to formulate suggestions and support affirmative programs for the improvement of Government service.

Inasmuch as ethical standards in public life are likely to become the subject of political disputation in the forthcoming campaign, it is not unlikely that the Eighty-third Congress—or even the second session of the Eighty-second—may enact some of these proposals into law. In any event, public discussion and consideration of them is invited.

Sanctuary

WORLD FRIENDSHIP

Hymn: "God of Grace and God of Glory" (Tune: "Regent Square," "Mannheim," or "Cwm Rhondda").

1. "God of grace and God of glory,
On Thy people pour Thy power;
Crown Thine ancient Church's story:
Bring her bud to glorious flower.
Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
For the facing of this hour.
2. "Lo! the hosts of evil round us
Scorn Thy Christ, assail His ways!
From the fears that long have bound
us
Free our hearts to faith and praise:
Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
For the living of these days.
3. "Cure Thy children's warring madness,
Bend our pride to Thy control;
Shame our wanton selfish gladness,
Rich in things and poor in soul.
Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
Lest we miss Thy Kingdom's goal.
4. "Set our feet on lofty places,
Gird our lives that they may be
Armored with all Christlike graces
In the fight to set men free.
Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
That we fail not man nor Thee!"

—*Harry Emerson Fosdick, 1931. Used by permission.*

A Litany of Peace:

MINISTER: Remember, O Lord, the peoples of the world divided into many nations and tongues. Deliver us from every evil which obstructs thy saving purpose. From the curse of war and tyranny and all that begets them,

PEOPLE: *O Lord, deliver us.*

MINISTER: From believing and speaking lies against other nations.

PEOPLE: *O Lord, deliver us.*

MINISTER: From narrow loyalties and selfish isolations,

PEOPLE: *O Lord, deliver us.*

MINISTER: For having false pride in our own country,

PEOPLE: *Our Father, we ask thy forgiveness.*

MINISTER: For failing to share with those in need in other lands,

PEOPLE: *Our Father, we ask thy forgiveness.*

MINISTER: For putting our trust in might rather than in justice.

PEOPLE: *Our Father, we ask thy forgiveness, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

—*Adapted from The Grey Book and reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.*

A Prayer for Social Justice:

"Almighty God, who hast created man in thine own image; Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations, to the glory of thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

—*The Book of Common Prayer.*

Let Us Pray:*

For Faith in This Day of Great Confusion

O God, whose love re-creates what thy power has created, whose mercy bears us. O God, thou hast broken our world into pieces, thou hast cast down everything that exalted itself against the knowledge of Christ, thou hast destroyed empires and nations and broken the arrogance of proud men, thou hast broken us too. We are in despair when we measure our own resources. Change our despair into repentance and repentance into faith. O thou who hast wounded us in our self-esteem, heal us by thy mercy, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

For All Who Are in Special Need of God's Grace

We pray, O Lord, for thy children everywhere who are in great distress and in pain of body or soul by reason of the tumults of this age, the cruelties of men and the indifference of their fellows. We pray for all those who have suffered and now suffer for righteousness' sake, who wander about in sheepskin and goatskins and in the caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world and we are not worthy. O Lord, let us behold in the suffering of all these people the symbol of Christ's suffering, who also had nowhere to lay his head though the foxes had holes and the birds of the heavens had nests. And grant that our hearts may go out to their needs and we may become vehicles of thy mercy to them.

We pray for all rulers and men of authority in all nations and for all who have power over their fellow men and make decisions upon which the weal and woe of nations depend. Teach them the wisdom which is drawn from true humility. Let their hearts be filled with the fear of God so that they will not use their power wrongfully. Give all little men and judges and presidents and commissars, who are great beyond their strength by reason of the strength which they have drawn from and owe the community, a sense of thy judgment, which stands against the judges of the earth and renders their counsels vain when it is directed against the counsels of God. Amen.

For the Coming of Christ's Kingdom

O God, who hast taught us to pray for the coming of thy Kingdom on this earth, give us grace to build our communities after the fashion of thy Kingdom, to set no boundaries about them which thou wouldst not set, to quiet the tumult and strife within them by brotherly love, and to work the more diligently for concord within them because our final hope is in the city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

* (Prayers by Reinhold Niebuhr.)

—Reprinted by permission from *The New Role of the United States, the World Order Message of the National Council of Churches*. Copies are available at 5 cents each, \$3.75 per hundred, from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Plan to observe UN Week in your Church. Write the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., for suggestions and materials.

October, 1952

Christian ACTION

THE CHURCH AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Has the Church of Christ a channel for co-operation with the great international movement, now succeeding so well through the United Nations? Or will the Church bid farewell to internationalism and trust it to other hands like a child now grown?

Internationalism by definition is the co-operation of nations for high and deep purposes, nations whose religions differ so widely that any common form of worship is difficult or impossible to find.

In view of the essential relation between religion and international co-operation some acceptable religious expression will need to be found. From time to time leaders in the United Nations, adherents of all faiths, have said that their efforts through the United Nations cannot long succeed without more evident relation to some religious foundation. The General Assembly of the United Nations, largely at the suggestion of the Laymen's Movement with headquarters in New York, has made provision for opening its sessions with a period of silence, and for a temporary "meditation room" where persons or groups may partake in occasional periods of prayer or silence.

Until some single acceptable worship can be found its expression is left to the various faiths to arrange separately—each for itself. With the headquarters located in a Christian country, the surrounding area can provide churches for Christians in the United Nations organization. A large city like New York is able to provide places of worship for many other faiths as well. Most of the churches in mid-Manhattan, near the new U N headquarters

on the East River, have conducted special United Nations services and have been generously receptive to all U N personnel.

The Christian church nearest the new world capital is the eighty-five-year-old Presbyterian Church of the Covenant on East 42d Street, less than a block from the main entrance in lovely Tudor City and three blocks east of Grand Central Station. Five years ago when the present U N site was chosen, this church began a program of remodeling and beautifying its sanctuary and parish house to fit it for larger opportunities with an international constituency. The pastor believes that these plans will make this one of the most beautiful small churches in the city. There will be no need to compromise its Presbyterian origins to make it a spiritual home for Christians of all nations and all denominations.

Recently, when the street level at the church was changed by the city as part of new approaches to the world capital, a new entrance was built by the church, which has greatly improved its face toward its new neighbor. This fall the interior of the sanctuary will be redecorated and modernized. Some of the work has already begun.

The Church of the Covenant is attended by more and more of the U N personnel. Some who have made their homes in the neighborhood have united with the church and its social organizations. The church sanctuary is open every day for quiet meditation. Many have come for private counsel and for special services. The church realizes that it has a great responsibility as the

Church representing Christ at the world capital. It is seeking recognition from the larger Church for this task, that it may be heard as the voice of the whole Church, which has words of counsel and direction

to speak for Christ in the great field of international relationships and action.

—Raymond H. Rosché, minister, *The Church of the Covenant* (Presbyterian), New York, N. Y.

SURVEY REPORT—LET US LIVE FOR GOD AND THE NATIONS

When the study guide *Let Us Live for God and the Nations* was released, churches were urged to set up local study groups to discuss the guide and the basic book, *God and the Nations*. Over a hundred persons signified their intention to plan periods for such study, and a questionnaire later sent to that group brought replies from 66 churches—a good return. While that number is small, we find that 3,388 people were reached by the study courses we heard about. From recent correspondence and field contacts with local church leaders, we know that many Presbyterian churches made the guide their Lenten theme and also held seminars and study groups on world affairs, yet did not report. There is still opportunity for anyone who conducted such a study to let us have the benefit of his experience.

There was quite a bit of variety in the type group included—Sunday evening services, Wednesday evening services, men's groups, women's groups, mixed groups, SEA committees, young people's, young adults', and other miscellaneous groups. The highest number was 20 mixed groups; and the next, 12 women's groups. In Ohio, a Council of Religious Education ran a study in which six churches in the community took part. They are planning to meet for a continuous period and hope to have something definite to report as a result. One women's group planned, as a result of their effort, to have a town survey of social needs, and further, to have a fall speaker on the subject of world order.

It was interesting to note the time devoted to the study by the various groups.

One church planned to devote regular sessions to it for the entire calendar year of 1952. Very few groups, fortunately, gave only one, two, or three sessions to the project. The great majority gave from five to eight periods of study and some even more than that. The general feeling seemed to be that the subject was so vast that only a concentrated and lengthy discussion could bring results of lasting worth.

We are glad to report that only eight groups felt that no attitudes were changed after the course was completed. Thirty-eight reporters were certain that very definite changes had been made in the attitudes of the participants. One church reported the group's feeling of the urgency of a permanent peace committee as a result of their discussion. The committee was appointed and has met continuously ever since.

Several attested to an increased tolerance for difference of opinion and a growing willingness to view world conditions from other nations' points of view. A general comment was that the book developed a greater interest in, understanding of, and changed attitudes toward the United Nations and related agencies. One reporter said, "It changed many minds about the all-righteousness of the United States and increased our humility toward all."

Fifty-one of the sixty-six reporting groups felt that the participants' understanding of world issues had been increased—some only slightly and some to a great extent.

One minister who did a thorough job with his group, with the use of supplemen-

tary material and outside speakers, found that his church members were very much interested in the well-planned course. In fact, it was the talk of the town. This contrasts the story he told of a brilliant minister colleague who said, "This [the study guide] is a hot potato; we are going to run a school of missions instead!"

Of course, one group frankly admitted that while they knew they should be interested they were not. As the discussion proceeded, their attitude changed to "polite interest." However, there were many statements from other churches showing increasing interest in the whole field of world affairs.

This report of the activities, the changed attitudes, and increased interest of these various study groups would have no value at all if it were not hoped that other churches and groups would be stimulated

into getting their people interested and informed on these vital subjects. Only through an intelligent, Christian understanding of the problems of the world can we hope to win the peace.

An outline for a single seminar on "God and the Nations" and the suggested agenda for a series of four meetings on the various chapters of the study book are available. Undoubtedly, United Nations Week will be the inspiration for starting a new series of world order studies and workshops.

Inquiries about developing a program in your church may be directed to the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa. *God and the Nations* and *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*, \$1.00 and 50 cents, respectively, may be secured from any Presbyterian Book Store.

—Helen Harder

HOW ONE CHURCH DID IT

A seminar on "God and the Nations" held at the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Illinois, Rev. Richard Paul Graebel, minister, and led by Dr. Richard G. Browne, adopted the following conclusions as a statement of the group's beliefs on "The Christian Faith and World Order."

We believe:

1. In the United Nations as the chief instrument for resolving differences between peoples; but would like to see our Congress take the lead in giving it greater strength through the development of genuine world government.

2. In the work of such private agencies as CROP, CARE, the American Friends Service Committee, Save the Children, World Council of Churches and its members; but we should like to have this work greatly expanded so as to include all peoples in need on a personalized and direct basis.

3. In economic co-operation, including the technical assistance program of the

United Nations; but we favor a greatly expanded Point Four program so that not only technical assistance may be granted over wide areas of the world, but that a great program to enable the people of undeveloped areas to improve their health, literacy, and general well-being be undertaken. Such an expanded plan should be conducted by the United Nations without regard to the economic systems of the countries benefited.

4. In the genuine menace of the Communist police state and of Russian imperialism; but we think that both must be combated positively as well as negatively by the constant improvement of our own society and by a dynamic program of information about the meaning of political freedom. In addition, we must not preclude the possibility of negotiation to settle our differences with Russia and must be ready to meet with them in good faith around the conference table.

5. In measures to provide military security under the democratic pattern of

civilian control; but we warn that these of themselves have never achieved peace nor guaranteed security; that security must be based upon the strength derived from spiritual sources.

6. In the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; but we recognize that America has not yet fulfilled its dream of freedom for all its people, and that our way of life has not

yet fulfilled the demands of a Christian democracy.

7. In lowering the barriers to the free movement of persons, goods, and information across national boundaries; and we believe that as peace is indivisible so the well-being of humanity is indivisible.

Continuing the work of the seminar, a church-wide committee on social education and action will be organized.

UNICEF-AIDED FEEDING PROJECTS

In seven countries of Central America, where Governments reported three years ago that malnutrition was widespread among children, more than a quarter of a million youngsters are now receiving a daily supplementary snack with the aid of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

Before UNICEF assistance became available, some 16,000 children in the area were receiving school lunches or some other type of food to fill out low-vitamin meals served at home, UNICEF recalls in a report made public today. This month 296,000 children and mothers—more than eighteen times as many—are sharing in feeding programs worked out by Governments, schools, nurseries, and welfare groups with UNICEF help.

The seven Central American Governments—British Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama—are now spending some ten times as much as formerly for child-feeding programs, the UNICEF report shows. In 1949, before UNICEF as-

sistance started, those Governments provided \$52,500 for such projects. Between mid-1950, when the UNICEF-aided programs were begun, and September, 1951, those Governments had spent \$536,480 to "match" UNICEF supplies consumed by that time.

The programs were put into operation, the report observes, despite such handicaps as floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, changes in government, lack of trained child welfare personnel, and a shortage of facilities for transporting and distributing the dried milk, margarine, fish liver oil capsules, and other supplies.

As a result of the extra food, the report shows, the children not only are in better physical condition but are more alert at school. Furthermore, community interest in child-feeding projects has increased, and "in all the countries there now exists a nutrition section or subdivision as a permanent part of the public health department."

—*United Nations Press Release, March 21, 1952.*

★ *Citizenship* ★

YOUR CHOICE OF CONGRESSMEN

☒ No less important than the election of a President is the choice of the members of Congress. While a President sets the general tone of an administration, much of his effectiveness and success is

determined by the support, or lack of it, that he receives from the legislative branch of the government.

Normally, one third of the Senate and all the members of the House are subject

to election every two years. This election year finds thirty-five Senate seats to be filled; the several extra vacancies are caused by death or retirement. Of the thirty-five seats, fourteen are now held by Democrats and twenty-one by Republicans.

To wrest control of the Senate from the Democrats the Republicans must win at least twenty-four of these seats, while the Democrats need only elect fourteen of them to retain their majority. Many of the Senate contests are in the South or in normally Democratic territory, so unless the Republican ticket should win by landslide proportions, the odds are in favor of a Democratic Senate irrespective of which party wins the Presidential election. The present division in the Senate is 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans.

Regardless of the election in November there will be many changes in the House of Representatives. As we go to press, more than threescore of the 435 House seats are already assured of new occupants because of primary defeats or the retirement of incumbents. There are quite a few more primary contests to be held and the election itself will no doubt bring more "casualties." It may well happen that the House will see its biggest turnover since 1932 when 162 new members were elected. As to which party will benefit from this change only the November election can determine.

Important committee chairmanships are the coveted prize of the party winning a majority in each House. Should the Republicans win a majority in both Houses there would, of course, be a complete shift of committee chairmen. Even a Democratic victory will see some changes due to several important retirements or primary defeats. Chief among these in the Senate are the retirement of Senator Tom Connally from the Foreign Relations Committee and the defeat of Senator Kenneth McKellar in the Tennessee primary, thus relinquishing the powerful chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee. Should

the Republicans come into power in the Senate, Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, a strong advocate of a bipartisan foreign policy, would in all probability head up the Foreign Relations Committee on the basis of the seniority rule. A Republican victory would also see Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, assuming he wins re-election, as chairman of the Permanent Investigating Subcommittee.

In the House of Representatives, assuming the election of incumbents, important chairmanships would find: in Foreign Affairs, Rep. James P. Richards of S. C. for the Democrats, Rep. Robert Chipfield of Illinois for the Republicans; in Appropriations, Rep. Clarence Cannon of Missouri, Democratic, Rep. John Taber of N. Y., a militant advocate of economy, Republican; and in the Armed Services Committee, Rep. Carl Vinson of Georgia for the Democrats, Rep. Dewey Short of Missouri, a strong opponent of universal military training, for the Republicans.

It is a significant political fact that in each Presidential election year since 1932, Republican Congressional candidates have polled a larger percentage of the total vote cast than have the Republican Presidential candidates.

It is roughly estimated that the 1952 voting line-up consists of approximately 23 million Democratic voters, 19 million Republican voters, and 15 million Independents. It is to be hoped that all of these voters will give very careful attention to the character and records of the Congressional candidates for whom they will be voting.

Good government is very vitally influenced by the type and character of the men who are chosen to make our laws. As the representatives of the people, forming one of the three constituent branches of our government, their approval or disapproval of the acts and program of the executive branch largely determines "results" in the body politic.

—Helen Lineweaver

About Books

The United Nations and Power Politics, by John MacLaurin. Harper & Brothers. \$5.00.

"May the cynic blush for shame, but the Africans do regard it [the United Nations] as God's instrument of justice and freedom for their people." The Reverend Michael Scott, advocate of the oppressed people of Southwest Africa, had gained the world as his stage for his dramatic testimony because small power representatives demanded it. The moving account of Mr. Scott's mission, first to Africa, then for Africans to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, and the United Nations Assembly, through its responsible representatives and organs, illustrates Mr. MacLaurin's effective method of making clear to the reader the structure of the United Nations and its work.

The United Nations and Power Politics presents the world organization through important phases of the work it has accomplished, and the engagements of the power struggle that have become an increasing threat to the UN's life and work. *The United Nations and Power Politics* goes to the record to refute the judgment generally entertained that Russia's veto is destroying the effectiveness of the United Nations. The question is decisively handled in the chapter "The Veto and Unanimity." This chapter examines the question on which each veto was placed and the effect of it. Readers who disagree with the author's judgment are directed by the reviewer to the substantial documentation carried within the text, as well as to the sources referred to by the author.

It is exceedingly satisfying to find a writer speaking so forthrightly on sensi-

tive issues. The reader is never left in doubt as to the author's position. Referring to the Gubitchev incident: "If the Soviet Government is guilty of making a UN staff member spy for it, it has committed a dastardly act against the United Nations." And again: "Our Governments have not yet tried an honest UN policy." "Their policies would shock our morals and revolt our common sense if we could see them in the light of day." Such serious judgments as the above demand the extensive documentation that is an important feature of the book.

The author gives the "realists"—and the advocates of overwhelming power—no relief from his attack with hard facts. "We might also meet them on their chosen ground of military security: What security is the present policy bringing, save the 'security' of a bacteriological and atomic war with most of mankind hostile before it breaks out?" "One thing is common to the policies flowing from power politics—indifference to moral values. And one thing experience has proved beyond reasonable doubt: the outcome is war."

Despite the "power struggle," faith that the UN will fulfill its promise is supported both by the devotion and judgment of representatives from the small powers and also by the hope that the West will be turned from its suicidal leadership in the greatest armaments race in history as it tries to contain Russia. The attitude of the small powers is expressed by Mr. El-Khoury, of Syria, in his address before the Assembly: "Instead of hearing peaceful appeals from the rostrum of the United Nations, it has been reduced to a centre of venomous propaganda. . . . Do you want a greater proof of the enmity that exists

among the great nations than what we hear and see from the rostrum? Yes, it is a cold war, because it has not yet burned the great powers with its fire. But I am sure that this is not the opinion of the Chinese, or the Indonesians, or the Arabs, or the Greeks, who see fire burning their houses and fuel being poured on the flames instead of water. . . . We . . . can only warn these powerful states to fear God, to sympathize with the weak and to place a limit to their ambitions. . . . We know quite well that these two camps, one led by the U.S.S.R. and the other led by the United States, would not have been able to establish themselves if the small states had not joined either of them. . . . Why should we not, therefore, the small states, agree among ourselves to form a third camp and hold the balance in our hands?" But it is evident that the author of this book is not reposing his full trust for an effective United Nations in a "third camp." The writer, who is so intimately a part of the UN and of British politics that he has elected to go under the pen name of John MacLaurin, not only repudiates the cold war policy but offers an affirmative policy to replace it.

The United Nations and Power Politics makes it quite clear that the West is challenged at three points: the demand of the East for independence and the end of colonialism; the demand for freedom from hunger—a decent and improving standard of living; the threat of Communist imperialism. The policy of the containment of Russia by "overwhelming power" is increasingly overwhelming both our physical resources and compassion—so that we have neither the means nor the mind to meet the hunger of half the world for bread and freedom.

The writer of this review is delighted to find in these pages choice weapons for the peacemakers. Those who do not share the author's judgment will do well to read this book, for they will be required to defend their position against attack from this sector. To conclude the review with

a few lines from the author: "It is time we brought home the ultimate responsibility where it belongs: to ourselves. Our Governments are our own doing. . . . They conduct their foreign policy with our consent." An organized, informed, responsible movement for peace by the churches is imperative. *The United Nations and Power Politics* provides every one interested in effective action with invaluable resources.

—Paul Newton Poling

The Future of American Politics, by Samuel Lubell. Harper & Brothers. \$3.50.

This is an energetic and hardheaded book, filled with important fact and penetrating observation. It is the most suggestive and challenging book about the American party system that has appeared in some time. There are occasional uncertainties and inconsistencies in the argument. Thus it is never quite clear whether Mr. Lubell feels that our Government is too weak or too strong. Nor does his interpretation of the Truman Administration as the institutionalization of deadlock really account for such policies as the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact. Still, the book will make everyone interested in American politics re-examine his assumptions.

Mr. Lubell is right in insisting that this country has been through a revolution in the last generation. We are only today beginning to understand the implications of that revolution. What J. D. Galbraith has done in economics and David Riesman in social psychology, Mr. Lubell has now done in politics. *The Future of American Politics* is not perhaps so fine-grained a book as Galbraith's *American Capitalism* or Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, but it belongs on the same shelf as an acute and vigorous contribution to the revaluation of our American culture.

—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Reprinted with permission from "The New York Times Book Review" section, April 13, 1952.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

The Homeless and Helpless

MANY of our churches responded magnificently in supporting the program for Displaced Persons. The Joint Committee on Resettlement of Displaced Persons, now the Committee on Resettlement Services, reported to the last General Assembly that our churches had received over 5,700 Displaced Persons.

We are not to suppose, however, that this program represents the end of the problem and the end of our responsibility. By definition, Displaced Persons include only those persons who were uprooted from their homes during the war and who afterward found that they could not return. There were several million families in this category and the need was great.

After the war, and in consequence of the troubled peace, other millions became homeless. These are the expellees. And the cold war has produced another category of refugees, the escapees, of whom there are mounting thousands in the "western" zones of Germany and Austria.

The figures are staggering in size. In Western Europe alone there are 14,000,000 refugees, more than the population of Canada. In the Near East, there are 870,000 Palestinian-Arab refugees. In Greece, the refugees at present number 20,000. The number of homeless Bulgars in Turkey total nearly 400,000 and the story of Turkey's compassionate handling of the problem is epic. There are 2,000 White Russian refugees in Iran. The most accurate estimate of the homeless in Korea is 10,000,000. In India there are 8,000,000 refugee Hindus from Pakistan, while in Pakistan there are 5,000,000 refugee Moslems from India. The plight of 5,000 refugees in Shanghai appears to be completely hopeless. They were stranded there with the termination of IRO.

No one can begin to guess the number of homeless and helpless behind the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe and in the vast reaches of China and Tibet.

The story is all the more tragic when one considers that the last Congress, by passing the intolerant Walter-McCarran Immigra-



tion Bill and by failing to enact emergency legislation to deal with the problem, as recommended by the President, has made it virtually impossible for any of these stricken people to find haven here.

The churches must do everything possible (1) to have the new Congress pass appropriate legislation for the admission of at least 250,000 refugees over a three-year period, and (2) to urge Congress to liberalize the new immigration and naturalization laws. Undoubtedly, new bills incorporating these proposals will appear in the next session of Congress.

Episcopalians Take a Poll

THE Department of Christian Social Relations of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church has recently completed a study of what Episcopalians think and know about social problems. Here are some of the results we found interesting. We pass them on to you because we believe that Presbyterians and Episcopalians are very much alike in their social thinking.

—One half of the clergy and one third of the laity know what UNESCO stands for.

—Nearly 80 per cent of the clergy believe that minority racial groups do not get a square deal in this country, while half of the lay people think that they do.

—About one half of the clergy and nearly two thirds of the laity expect a higher standard of behavior from public officials than from people not in public employment.

—16 per cent of the lay people and about 6 per cent of the clergy believe that the churches should stick to religion and not be concerned with social and economic problems even though they affect the moral and spiritual well-being of people.

—About one in five of the lay people believe it is all right for a Protestant who marries a Roman Catholic to agree to let their children be brought up in the Roman Catholic Church.

It would be interesting to compare the social attitudes of our ministers and members with the social pronouncements of the General Assembly. It should be kept in mind, of course, that the General Assembly, in pronouncing on social issues, does not seek to reflect the mind of the churches, but the mind of Christ.

—Clifford Earle

What of the Harvesters?

AUTUMN'S bounty is safely stored in America's granaries and big red barns, and processed in frozen-pack and canning plants. The harvest has been abundant—measured in bushels and yields per acre. But how abundant has been the life of armies of migratory workers upon whom we depend to gather in the harvest?

Thoughtful Christians cannot be complacent about these findings of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor:

—“Agriculture is among the highest in any industry group in the number of fatalities and injuries causing total disability, but present safety programs and workmen's compensation laws do not generally extend to agricultural workers.”

—“Lack of health and welfare services, inadequate diet, and poor housing all go along with the poor working conditions of migrants. Transient families—both agricultural and nonagricultural—had a 74 per cent higher disabling illness rate than residents. This lack of health care endangers not only the migrants but the resident community as well.”

—“Wages of migrant and nonmigrant farm workers are below prevailing standards. Average cash annual earnings of factory workers in 1949 were \$2,600 as compared to the farm worker's cash earnings of \$514.”

These excerpts from the 16-page report and recommendations of the Commission submitted in April, 1952, point up the critical and manifold needs of migrant workers and their families. The strongest section of the report deals with the general job insecurities that handicap migrant farm workers. They are subject to the machinations of private labor contractors who frequently overcharge the workers for services and transportation and underpay them in order to supplement their own incomes. Such unjust practices would seem to have little place in our economic order.

The Commission concluded that the problems of migrants could best be met “by broadening and extending to them the basic services designed to serve the general population.” It proposed the establishment of a Federal committee on migratory labor to be appointed by and responsible to the President. The committee would have the authority and adequate staff and funds to assist and stimulate the states in their services to migrants and their families. It would also co-ordinate the various Federal agencies in their migratory labor policies and programs and recommend ways to extend existing welfare services.

Senator Hubert Humphreys of Minnesota chaired a subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare committee that studied the Commission's report and drafted much-needed legislation in line with its recommendations. Public hearings were held in the late spring, but the 82d Congress took no action. Senator Humphreys would be greatly encouraged to have expressions of opinion from church members who are concerned about migrants. He intends to reintroduce this legislation in the next Congress, but it has little hope of passage without the prayers and aggressive support of the churches.

—Margaret E. Kuhn

Preview

IN THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, we feature an article about migrants which is related to a study theme in the current issue of *Crossroads*, the curriculum magazine for adults. The author is Miss Monica B. Owen, who is acting as a supervisor of migrant work in the Midwest for the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches. Note, also, the editorial about migrants written by Margaret Kuhn.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas writes with force and persuasion about one of the critical problems of the present time in his article "The Black Silence of Fear." He says the critical danger is that we will limit the range of permissible discussion and permissible thought, a most serious denial of an essential American freedom.

In a fine article on the meaning of Christianity and economics, A. Dudley Ward describes the important study project carried on during the last four years by the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Ward serves as Director of Studies in the Department. The project was initiated by a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The article especially describes the important publications which are now forthcoming.

Another article carries forward a discussion of the scope and program of the Department of Social Education and Action. The article deals especially with how social education and social action are related to the ongoing program of the local church.

The "Sanctuary" pages were prepared by Dean Collins, who directs the program for migrants carried on in the Far West by the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches.

The Ministry to Migrants

By **MONICA B. OWEN**, *Acting Midwest Migrant Supervisor,
National Council of Churches, Division of Home Missions.*

A MILLION workers travel the roads every year—following the sun and the harvest. Their families must move with them, raising the number of wanderers to nearly two million. They travel, of course, that we may be fed, and pick the crops in every state of the Union. Negroes and Southern whites, Mexican Nationals, Texas Mexicans, and American Indians—all take to the road.

In terms of the dislocations and difficulties that these workers and their families face, do we really understand the price that is paid to permit us to enjoy cherries or peaches, asparagus or peas?

Who Pays?

Native-born migrants pay the highest price to harvest our crops, for they are the lowest-income group in the nation. Their life is one of constant insecurity. They are not eligible for Social Security or Unemployment Compensation. Though they are American citizens, they cannot vote. They have no roots in any community.

It's easy for established residents and townspeople to rationalize their rejection of these workers in stores, in schools, in churches. Too often they say, "Migrants like to live like that." But without education often

without the ability to speak English, without training in any other work, it is very difficult to find steady employment. We sometimes hear of high wages and conclude that the migrant is not really poor, not realizing that the good money is earned only during short periods when the harvest is at its peak, or that crop failure due to drought or heat, flood or frost, means no work at all.

Even native-born agricultural laborers may come as aliens to our communities. Differences in color, in language, in ways of life do exist. But to classify the migrants as a group who are shiftless, dirty, or a "bad element" is unfair. Some may be guilty of all these accusations, but most are not. When we get to know them as individuals, we find they are like the rest of us—good, bad, or indifferent.

What the Church Can Do

What can the Church do to help? First of all, it can include migrants as a part of its Christian ministry and fellowship, welcoming them at Sunday morning worship and in the church school. Migrant young people can have a part in the church's youth activities. The church family and migrant families can become friends.

Even a small concerned group of

church members can make a significant beginning. A group of three or four women may visit a camp to become acquainted, or a minister may invite migrants to his church and awaken the whole community to its responsibilities. Recently a clergyman on a hospital visit was troubled by the number of migrant patients there who, unable to speak English, were friendless and alone. For the first time he became aware of a new mission at his own door. Through his desire to help, he enlisted the interest of the entire community and began the first ministry to migrants in his state.

Are Migrants in Your Town?

The local employment service office and the county agricultural agent have full information about migrant workers—where they are working and how long they are likely to stay. One or two interested persons can organize a migrant committee. Often church groups take the initiative and the committee may include representatives from the Ministerial Association and the Council of Church Women, who work together on an interdenominational basis. Sometimes the committee also includes laymen, representatives of the growers, civic clubs, members of the school board, and officials of health and welfare agencies. Together they can explore the needs of the migrants in their area. These may involve such things as better housing, education,

or medical services. Then the committee can work to provide them.

When several local committees have begun to function, state committees are set up to broaden and to integrate the service throughout the whole area. Usually these committees become Migrant Commissions of the state councils of churches. As with local committees, they may be set up on a broader basis to include representatives of the state agencies of health, welfare, and education, the employment service, farmers organizations, and members of the various denominations.

Program Planning

When these groups of concerned people are ready to work, two approaches are necessary. First, plan for a long-range program of improvement of the basic conditions under which migrants live and work. Housing should meet approved standards of decency, privacy, and cleanliness. School laws and attendance regulations should be revised to permit enrollment of migrant children. Adult education programs can be started. Health and welfare services can be extended to migrants even though they are not residents of the state where they are working. Child labor laws should be enforced. To keep babies and young children from being taken to the fields or left in trucks or shacks, child care centers can be planned on a permanent basis.

The second approach is to provide

programs that will help to meet some of the migrants' immediate needs. Worship services and religious instruction can be provided in far-away camps, or at the houses of those who live in scattered groups. Where migrant camps are near towns, demonstration child care centers and school programs can be operated in local churches if other facilities are not available. Recreation programs in which both the community and the migrants share can do much to bring the two groups together.

The Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches is ready to counsel and guide local groups, and offer its experience of thirty years in the ministry to migrants. It recruits, trains, and supervises the necessary staff, working closely with local and state groups in

carrying out the service planned.

Through the years the Church has had an increasing concern for migrants, but it still has a long way to go. Only one out of ten migrants has been directly reached by its influence. Where the Church has been effective, it has learned that growers and canners, the migrants and the community—all have their own needs and problems, and that the processes of education and co-operation may be long and tedious but always rewarding. Wherever there are migrants, each thoughtful person in the community must ask himself whether he has the right to accept the labor of those who harvest the crops and reject or ignore them as people. Each church must ask itself again, with reawakened conscience and renewed dedication, "Who is my neighbor?"

Education—Everyone's Right

The UN's Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to education. During the last century Americans struggled to make this right a reality in the United States. Most of us thought we had won that struggle. The schoolroom has long been the training ground of good citizenship. Yet today some 180,000 youngsters under 16 do not answer "present" to the daily roll call—their excuse is not measles, fishing, or grandmother's funeral. Sometime during the school year, they are engaged in paid work on the commercial farms of the nation.—*Help Get Children Into School, Bulletin No. 128, United States Department of Labor.*

Symbol of World Understanding

If man is to survive and prosper, the devotion he once gave to the nation he must now enlarge into a devotion to the United Nations, which is thus far the one frame and symbol for world understanding. If we act quickly, in our homes and at the polls and in our congregations, we still have time to recover from the shock of finding ourselves citizens of One World, with an unwelcome but thrilling new moral responsibility from which we can neither escape nor resign.—*From an article by Ernesto G. Merlanti, Pastor, Presbyterian Church of the Evangel, Rochester, N. Y. Reprinted from The Presbyterian Tribune, September, 1952.*

Social Education in the Local Church

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

SOME people may wonder why the emphasis we are concerned with in SOCIAL PROGRESS is called by such a long name—social education and action. The name is a good one because it is so descriptive. In “officializing” the name in 1936, the General Assembly* apparently wanted to remind us that social education must be forever joined with social action.

It is important to see, first of all, that the two are somewhat different.

Social education is the endeavor by which people in our churches, youth as well as adults, are brought to an understanding and acceptance of the social responsibilities of Christian discipleship. The goal is men and women who see the world through Christ’s eyes, who by habit size up social issues and institutions in terms of what they do to persons.

Social action, on the other hand, is the effort of our churches to exert a direct influence for righteousness in their communities and in the nation, resisting the things that hurt people and encouraging everything that helps men to be the kind of persons God wants them to be.

For example, in social education we help men and women in our churches to develop racial attitudes in keeping with Christian teachings about the worth of persons and the sinfulness of pride. In social action we meet the manifestations of racial prejudice head on, doing what we can to banish discrimination in housing, education, public services, employment, and religious fellowship.

The two functions are different, but never exclusive. Each involves the other. Indeed, some of the deepest insights into the social meaning of Christianity come to those who are actually doing something about community problems, while Christian social action often goes farthest when it reflects the eager though hesitant amateurism of learners.

Not an Elective

All this underlines the importance of making social education and action integral parts of the local church’s ongoing program.

In many churches social education and social action are treated as electives for those who may be interested, or as a temporary campaign to be pressed with a flurry of excitement and then forgotten. In such treat-

* The 148th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., which directed the Board of Christian Education to establish a Department of Social Education and Action.

ment the essential oneness of Christian social action with the evangelistic and educational tasks of the church is neglected. How can Christian education, for example, achieve its goal of making "complete disciples of Christ" if the whole subject of Christianity's social responsibility is dealt with in a separate program to which only a few persons are attracted?

To be sure, great good for the cause is done through special courses and campaigns, even though mostly the "already converted" are drawn to them. The Kingdom of God advances when a dozen people in a local church sit down for an intensive study of the United Nations as an agency for peace, or of some aspect of human rights in the light of our Lord's interest in persons.

Thrilling, indeed, are reports from churches telling of their use of the world order study guide, *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*, published by the Department of Social Education and Action. In many churches this fall, groups of women are making serious use of the important handbook on racial and cultural relations, *Everyone Welcome*.

Such study programs are good, especially when they lead to group action. Let there be more of them. Let every church every year have a period of intensive group study of some aspect of the church's ramified social responsibility.

Still it is true that social educa-

tion and action happen best when they are part of the church's ongoing program, when every phase of the church's life contributes to the making of disciples who understand and accept their place in Christianizing all human relations.

Not from the Outside

The initiative for social education and action best comes from within the church itself.

Not infrequently the prime mover is some zealous person whose concern is related not to his experience in the church but to experiences and associations outside the church. For example, a person with a deep interest in intercultural relations, based on her participation in community activities, may be the center of an effort in the church to do something about brotherhood. Or a member of Alcoholics Anonymous, coming into the church, may be the inspiring leader of a program for helping alcoholics. Or a person trained in social work may stir a group of people in her church to an interest in public housing and other community issues.

These projects are good, both for those who take part in them and for the community. Through them the churches may exert a truly Christian influence in social relations.

But something is lacking when social education and action in a local church are confined to efforts of this sort. Two difficulties arise. First, by being tied to a person whose interests

are specialized the program is likely to be anything but rounded and balanced. Secondly, by receiving their chief inspiration from outside, such projects often fail to express the real relevancy of religion to everyday social relations.

Social education and action, by the meaning we give to them in these pages, are rooted in the evangelical tradition of the churches. They find their inspiration in Christian affirmations concerning God's purpose and man's destiny. They are oriented, not only to the social needs that appear within the reach of the church, but also to the church's purpose in making Christian disciples who are sensitive and alert in relating religion to every area of life.

In the Educational Program

All this suggests the utmost importance of imbedding social education and action in the church's program of Christian education. Here is where the church goes about the life business of making "complete disciples" of men and women, boys and girls, who come within its influence.

However, leaders of Christian Education are sometimes vague and occasionally negative in interpreting the social responsibilities of Christian discipleship. The dominating figure in a large men's Bible class, for example, resists the suggestion that questions "be opened for discussion" because this would in-

vite the consideration of controversial subjects. A women's organization throws out a highly recommended and widely used study program in the field of race relations because some leaders in the group find the subject "revolting." A church school superintendent recruits workers "who will teach the Bible and not the newspaper." As a result of these errors of judgment, Christian disciples in the making are led to think of religion as being unrelated to life.

When we suggest that social education and action should be imbedded in the educational program, we do not mean buried or submerged until they are out of sight.

Some leaders in Christian education are satisfied when the social emphasis is present in the materials and in the program by implication. They seem to believe that general and indirect references to some of the social teachings of Christianity are sufficient to make a man sensitive to the spiritual and moral overtones of all sorts of social situations. This is wishful thinking. We need to know a lot more than we do about how attitudes are transformed, but surely the social emphasis in Christian education has to be explicit and clear.

Perhaps part of the difficulty is that the announced goals of Christian education do not sharply define the social objectives. Surely this emphasis in Christian living is important enough to be a standout item with high priority in any list of goals.

How It Happens

Christian education is much more than what happens in church school classes on Sunday mornings. When we talk about the social emphasis being explicit in the church's educational program, we have in mind a church-wide enterprise that includes many kinds of groups and all ages. These activities add up to the church's effort to "make disciples" of all men within reach.

Here, then, are some of the places where social education and action may occur in the local church's ongoing program: *

—Sunday church school classes for all ages. Needed are down-to-earth lessons as well as general articles for parents and teachers that spell out the everyday relevancy of Christian principles. Is it possible to schedule lessons which embody the social concerns of our faith in the "fulness of the year" rather than in the summer?

—Regular meetings of teachers and other workers in Christian education. It would seem important, for example, for these leaders to know something about the social utterances of the Presbyterian Church.

—Meetings involving parents of church school children. If social attitudes are caught rather than taught, then there is no place like home for social education.

This is the second in a series on the church and Christian social responsibility. The first article, "Why Christians Are Concerned About the World," appeared in September.

November, 1952

—Session meetings as well as meetings of trustees and deacons in which time is given to church officer training. These leaders, more than any others in the church, ought to appreciate the meaning and importance of social education and action.

—Various women's activities such as association meetings and circle gatherings. Women take this business seriously. Note the current program materials and the designation of an officer to carry this emphasis.

—Local chapters of the Presbyterian Men's Organization. We applaud the new plans calling for regular committees including one dealing with civic righteousness.

—Sunday night and through-the-week activities for youth. Here too we commend the national leaders of Westminster Fellowship for the attention given to social education and action in plans for local groups.

—And what shall we say of other occasions for social education and action in the many activities, regular and special, that round out the program of the local church?

In all these efforts our purpose is to help everyone, to understand and accept the full responsibilities of Christian discipleship. Christians ought to be good for something. Real religion makes a difference—in the way a man lives and in his relationships with others.

The Black Silence of Fear

By WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, *Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court. Reprinted from The New York Times Magazine, January 13, 1952. Used with permission of the author and The New York Times.*

THERE is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches. Orthodoxy normally has stood in the path of change.

The democratic way of life rejects standardized thought. It rejects orthodoxy. It wants the fullest and freest discussion, within peaceful limits, of all public issues. It encourages constant search for truth at the periphery of knowledge.

We as a people have probably never lived up to that standard in any of our communities. But it has been an ideal toward which most of our communities have striven. We have over the years swung from tolerance to intolerance and back again. There have been eras of intolerance when the views of minorities have been suppressed. But there probably has not been a period of greater intolerance than we witness today.

To understand this, I think one has to leave the country, go into the back regions of the world, lose himself there, and become absorbed in the problems of the peoples of different civilizations. When he returns to

America after a few months he probably will be shocked. He will be shocked not at the intentions or purposes or ideals of the American people. He will be shocked at the arrogance and intolerance of great segments of the American press, at the arrogance and intolerance reflected in many of our attitudes toward Asia. He will find that thought is being standardized, that the permissible area for calm discussion is being narrowed, that the range of ideas is being limited, that many minds are closed to the receipt of any ideas from Asia.

This is alarming to one who loves his country. It means that the philosophy of strength through free speech is being forsaken for the philosophy of fear through repression.

That choice in Russia is conscious. Under Lenin the ministers and officials were encouraged to debate, to advance new ideas and criticisms. Once the debate was over, however, no dissension or disagreement was permitted. But even that small degree of tolerance for free discussion that Lenin permitted disappeared under Stalin. Stalin maintains a tight sys-

tem of control, permitting no free speech, no real clash in ideas, even in the inner circle. We are, of course, not emulating either Lenin or Stalin. But we are drifting in the direction of repression, drifting dangerously fast.

What is the cause of this drift? What are the forces behind it? It is only a drift, for certainly everything in our tradition would make the great majority of us reject that course as a conscious choice.

The drift goes back, I think, to the fact that we carried over to days of peace the military approach to world affairs. Diplomacy, certainly in our relations with Asia, took a back seat. The military approach conditioned our thinking and our planning. The military, in fact, determined our approach to the Asians and their problems. That has been a great tragedy in Asia. And the tragedy to us at home has been about as great.

Military thinking continued to play a dominant role in our domestic affairs. The conspiratorial role of Soviet Communism was, of course, backed by Russia's military strength. We, therefore, had to be strong in a military sense to hold off Russia. But we soon accepted the military role as the dominant one. We thought of Asia in terms of military bases, not in terms of peoples and their aspirations. We wanted the starving people of Asia to choose sides, to make up their minds whether they were for us

or against us, to cast their lot with us and against Russia.

We did not realize that to millions of these people the difference between Soviet dictatorship and the dictatorship under which they presently live is not very great. We did not realize that in some regions of Asia it is the Communist Party that has identified itself with the so-called reform programs, the other parties being mere instruments for keeping a ruling class in power. We did not realize that the choice between democracy and Communism is not in the eyes of millions of illiterates the critical choice it is for us.

We forgot that democracy in many lands is an empty word; that the appeal is hollow when made to illiterate people living at the subsistence level. We asked them to furnish staging grounds for a military operation whose outcome, in their eyes, had no perceptible relation to their own welfare. Those who rejected our overtures must be Communists, we said. Those who did not fall in with our military plans must be secretly aligning with Russia, we thought.

The military effort has been involving more and more of our sons, more and more of our budget, more and more of our thinking. The military policy has so completely absorbed our thoughts that we have mostly forgotten that our greatest strength, our enduring power, is not in guns but in ideas. Today in Asia we are identified not with ideas of

freedom but with guns. Today at home we are thinking less and less in terms of defeating Communism with ideas, more and more in terms of defeating Communism with military might.

The concentration on military means has helped to breed fear. It has bred fear and insecurity partly because of the horror of atomic war. But the real reason strikes deeper. In spite of our enormous expenditures, we see that Soviet imperialism continues to expand and that the expansion proceeds without the Soviet's firing a shot. The free world continues to contract without a battle for its survival having been fought. It becomes apparent, as country after country falls to Soviet imperialistic ambitions, that military policy alone is a weak one, that military policy alone will end in political bankruptcy and futility. Thus fear mounts.

Fear has many manifestations. The Communist threat inside the country has been magnified and exalted far beyond its realities. Irresponsible talk by irresponsible people has fanned the flames of fear. Accusations have been loosely made. Character assassinations have become common. Suspicion has taken the place of good will. Once we could debate with impunity along a wide range of inquiry. Once we could safely explore to the edges of a problem, challenge orthodoxy without qualms, and run the gamut of ideas

in search of solutions to perplexing problems. Once we had confidence in each other. Now there is suspicion. Innocent acts become telltale marks of disloyalty. The coincidence that an idea parallels Soviet Russia's policy for a moment of time settles an aura of suspicion around a person.

Suspicion grows until only the orthodox idea is the safe one. Suspicion grows until only the person who loudly proclaims the orthodox view, or who, once having been a Communist, has been converted, is trustworthy. Competition for embracing the new orthodoxy increases. Those who are unorthodox are suspect. Everyone who does not follow the military policymakers is suspect. Everyone who voices opposition to the trend away from diplomacy and away from political tactics takes a chance. Some who are opposed are indeed "subversive." Therefore, the thundering edict commands that all who are opposed are "subversive." Fear is fanned to a fury. Good and honest men are pilloried. Character is assassinated. Fear runs rampant.

Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity—all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty—have difficulty getting reputable lawyers to defend them. Lawyers have talked with me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did, they would lose clients and their

firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did, they would be dubbed "subversive" by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy.

Fear has driven more and more men and women in all walks of life either to silence or to the folds of the orthodox. Fear has mounted—fear of losing one's job, fear of being investigated, fear of being pilloried. This fear has stereotyped our thinking, narrowed the range of free public discussion, and driven many thoughtful people to despair. This fear has even entered universities, great citadels of our spiritual strength, and corrupted them. We have the spectacle of university officials lending themselves to one of the worst witch hunts we have seen since early days.

This fear has affected the youngsters. Youth has played a very important role in our national affairs. It has usually been the oncoming generation—full of enthusiasm, full of idealism, full of energy—that has challenged its elders and the *status quo*. It is from this young group that the country has received much of its moral power. They have always been prone to question the stewardship of their fathers, to doubt the wisdom of traditional practices, to explode clichés, to quarrel with the management of public affairs.

Youth—like the opposition party

in a parliamentary system—has served a powerful role. It has cast doubts on our policies, challenged our inarticulate major premises, put the light on our prejudices, and exposed our inconsistencies. Youth has made each generation indulge in self-examination. Its criticisms have been searching and productive. Changes have been propelled by the opinion which they have generated. They have until now felt free to discuss, to argue, to campaign, to embrace radical ideas, and to harass the orthodox school with a barrage of ideas.

But a great change has taken place. Youth is still rebellious, but it is largely holding its tongue. There is the fear of being labeled a "subversive" if one departs from the orthodox party line. That charge—if leveled against a young man or young woman—may have profound effects. It may ruin a youngster's business or a professional career. No one wants a Communist in his organization nor anyone who is suspect.

And so the lips of the younger generation have become more and more sealed. Repression of ideas has taken the place of debate. There may not be a swelling crowd of converts to the orthodox, military view. But the voice of the opposition is more and more stilled; and youth, the mainstay in early days of the revolt against orthodoxy, is largely immobilized and silenced.

(Continued on page 22)

Sanctuary

HOME IS WHERE THE CROPS ARE RIPE

Invocation:

Almighty and most merciful God, thou who art the creator of the world, the sustainer of life, and the giver of all good gifts, be pleased to look with favor upon us thy servants. Prepare us to draw nigh unto thee. Cleanse our hearts and purify our minds. Make us aware of the brotherhood of mankind and of our obligation to our brother. Teach us to love as we have been loved by thee. Teach us to serve as we have been ministered unto by thee. Deliver us from the luxury of a halfhearted allegiance to thee and to thy Son; rather, guide us into the glory of the high calling of Christian service. In the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Hymn: "Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life."

Scripture: Ps. 84; Isa. 58: 1-12.

Meditation:

How often even Christians say: "I just can't believe it. It is too good to be true." Surely we don't believe this to be true, for to accept it as the basis of our belief does injury to our concept of God. Do we believe in a God who is unable or unwilling to give good gifts to his children? Do we believe that God, in his goodness, would withhold a blessing because it is too fine, too noble, or too good? Of course, we do not, for that is not the God that Jesus Christ revealed to us.

Yet we continue to use the phrase, adding it to others that we neither believe nor understand. They are but meaningless clichés that we use without thinking. Perhaps another of these is a certain table grace used in many a Christian home today: "We thank thee, Father, for this food that has been set before us. Bless the hands that prepared it and feed our souls upon the Bread of Life forevermore. Amen."

If we pause to think and to consider this grace at all, our thoughts usually stop at our own kitchen. When we ask God to bless the hands that prepared it, we think of the hands of our loved ones who prepared it and then transferred it to the table. Yet behind those hands are others, literally millions of hands that have helped to produce the food we eat.

We are speaking of the agricultural migrant, some two and a half million men and women, boys and girls, whose hands harvest the crops of our great nation. These are real people with the same hopes and dreams, the same hungers and fears common to all mankind. They follow the harvest, and for them "home is where the crops are ripe." Seldom accepted by the community, they rarely find opportunity to participate in those things that make life worth-while, like worshiping God in a friendly church, going to school, and winning acceptance from the community.

When crops fail, when there are too many workers, when wages are low, hunger is a constant companion. In the average family that follows the crops there are 5.7 per-

sons, and the average income for the whole family is less than \$1,500. Good housing is a 9' by 12' shack with two windows and a door, but no glass and no screens. Bad housing is indescribable. Over 92 per cent of the families have no way of keeping or preserving food, for not even ice is available. Infant mortality is high, and sickness of all kinds is the common lot.

Who are these people? They are just ordinary folks. Many of them have been forced into the migrant stream by sickness or death within the immediate family. Others who once owned farms of their own lost them through floods, drought, sickness, mechanization, and then turned to following the crops for what meager living they might find. Others, because of a handicap such as a lack of education, a difficulty due to language, a discrimination because of race, color, or nationality, could no longer compete economically with others, so they too became agricultural migrants.

But harvesting the crops has not made these people different. Their hunger is just as sharp and just as real as anyone's. Nor is that hunger limited to the physical, for there is that deeper and even more damaging hunger for God and for human fellowship which for many of the agricultural migrants is never satisfied. They need God, and they need the Church. Prohibited by prejudice from participating in most of the churches of the community, they wander from place to place unaware that God, and the Church, is interested in them. Yet the Church is seeking them. For over thirty years, the Home Missions boards of the major Protestant denominations have co-operated through what is now the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches, to bring the knowledge of Jesus Christ to these people.

A little migrant child expressed the idea simply and completely. The Bible story and worship service conducted by a staff member of the Division of Home Missions was over. The children immediately flocked around a large picture of Christ which showed him surrounded by children of different races and nationalities. One little girl, after studying the picture, turned to the teacher and asked, "Is it true that God loves everyone?"

Before the teacher could answer, another little girl spoke up. "Of course it is true. In God's way we are all one family." Yes, in God's way, it is true; we *are* all one family. If only we could make it true in man's way also!

Prayer:

Our Father, help us to understand and love these our brothers. Open our blinded eyes to their needs. Help them to see and to incorporate into their lives the beauty around them, which was created for them as much as for anyone else. May we as humble servants help these people to richer, fuller lives. May they forgive our thoughtless, selfish ways that we may be linked together in thy wisdom and power. Help us to create in the community a desire to improve conditions under which these people live and work. Develop within the minds and hearts of all the important desire of helping those in great need and those who long to be understood and accepted. These things we ask in the name of Christ. Amen.—*By Elise Holman.*

Hymn: "When Thy Heart, with Joy O'erflowing."

Benediction.

—*Prepared by Dean S. Collins, Western Region Supervisor for Migrant Work, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches.*

November, 1952

Where Christianity and Economics Meet

By A. DUDLEY WARD, *Director of Studies, Department of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches.*

DURING the past half century our ways of life and work have undergone a vast alteration. This change has been accomplished without violence and without great apparent upset, but the tempo of its pace has been truly revolutionary. Certainly if people whose span of life was in the nineteenth century could see what we see in everyday life they would hardly accept any word but revolution for the process that has brought it about.

This accelerated change has made clear to all thoughtful people that we need a careful and realistic investigation of economic life and a reappraisal of its relation to spiritual and moral values.

Rockefeller Grant

Accordingly, as a beginning of such an investigation, a three-year research study was commenced in 1949 under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

In particular the study is centered around the idea that the average decision maker needs a better understanding of his own ethical problems and the cultural situation in which he operates. He needs guidance as he tries to be ethical in his decisions, or

when he knows that whatever his decision someone may be hurt and he is likely to be misunderstood by some people.

The participants in the study are influenced deeply by a recognition of the ethical dilemmas and cultural conflicts which modern man faces. Reinhold Niebuhr in his conclusion to the first volume of the published results of the study points up this awareness:

"The frantic pursuit of the immediate goals of life is partly occasioned by an uneasy awareness that this pursuit has not resulted in its promised happiness and by a consequent final and desperate effort to reach the elusive goal of happiness by a more consistent application of principles of efficiency."

The study is sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America through its Department of the Church and Economic Life. It is being carried out by a research staff operating under the general supervision of the Department, and with the co-operation of a study committee headed by Charles P. Taft and comprised of interested leaders from various occupational backgrounds.

Some thirty-five scholars, representing a variety of disciplines, are, or have been, actively engaged in preparing the several studies. Professor Howard R. Bowen, of Williams College, is the general consultant.

Six Volume Series

There will be six volumes in the series of reports to be published by Harper & Brothers. Three of these have been delivered to the publisher. The first volume will be off the press this month.

Goals of Economic Life is a study that brings together fifteen people who have thought seriously about the ethical problems in modern society and bring to the volume long experience which equips them to make a penetrating analysis of the kind of world we are living in today. In order to give the analysis a scope that is not usually found in such a work we have brought together an anthropologist, a psychologist, and a biologist, to co-operate with the social scientists and economists in an examination of the problems.

Among the questions raised by the latter are such problems as the place of economic progress in modern life, the political responsibilities of individuals today, the relationship of the state to the decisions of individuals and economic groups, and the place of the economists' technical apparatus in making ethical values operative in economic affairs. Finally,

the philosopher and the theologian examine man in his modern predicament from a Christian point of view to see what help and direction can be given to him.

The American Economy and the Lives of People is a study based upon three techniques of data-collecting: public-opinion polling, clinical analysis, and group discussions. From this work we are obtaining some most interesting data about the ambitions and problems of the American people. We know, for example, that the two big issues for most Americans—which are hot politically—are housing and medical care, including the loss of earnings through ill health or injury.

We have indications that many of the problems industrial sociologists and psychologists have been writing about (monotony, routine work, and status) are not the really important concerns of workers. Our findings do indicate that monetary return is the important consideration to working people in America, whether owners, employees, or professional people.

Our data agree with other research in indicating that the nation seems to be quite satisfied with the trends of social progress and is not likely to turn its back on these steps which have been taken during the past twenty years. An important observation is that there appears to be little consciousness of goals other than the purely materialistic.

The Social Responsibilities of Businessmen is concerned with the problems that business management face as they contemplate their responsibilities of citizenship in the modern community. It is based upon the assumption that there are certain things which the community can expect rightfully of businessmen and that there are certain things which the community should not expect and which business is not able to do.

The study elaborates upon the specific issues businessmen face in reference to distribution of profits, wages, pricing, advertising, and the relationship of business to other groups in the economy. It is amply supported by material from the speeches, reports, polls, statements, and declarations of people in top business management. It is in no sense of the word a preachment. It deals realistically with many specific proposals which might enable business to do a better job in interpreting itself and exercising its rights and duties in the community. An ethical critique will consider this study.

The Organizational Revolution: A Study in the Ethics of Economic Organization deals with some of the pressure groups that have grown in modern industrial society. It is a highly colorful document, and it raises many issues—more than anything else that we know of in the field—regarding the ethical problems created by the large economic

groups of the present day. In the analysis, the economic apparatus of supply and demand has been applied to the problem of developing a theory of organization. The supply side represents the increased availability of managerial and organizational skill, and the demand side represents the rising demand for these abilities and skills in the face of expanding productivity and consumption.

A section of discussion by the author and some of the twenty-five critics who have reviewed the book is particularly stimulating. The differences are wide. A typical one finds its best expression in the following quotation from the author, Kenneth Boulding, as he evaluates his relationship with Reinhold Niebuhr, who writes the ethical critique of the volume:

"I may perhaps sum up the difference a little ruthlessly by saying that Professor Niebuhr is afraid of freedom, seeing always behind it the specter of anarchy, whereas I am afraid of justice, seeing always behind it the specter of tyranny."

Standard of Living, Distribution of Income, and Consumption is a penetrating study in these three fields. The major ideas of this volume are related to one of the most striking aspects of the twentieth century—technology. It is here to stay. We must use it to the full but not for the purely materialistic aims that seem to have characterized so largely

our individual and national policies in the past. If we are to avoid going down the blind alley of pure materialism, it appears necessary for us to take more seriously than we have the Christian doctrine of sharing. This not only will give us an outlet for our tremendous productive capacity but will permit us to participate in the task of helping masses of the world's people to obtain essential freedom and justice.

One section will deal with the changing patterns of consumption in modern America, with particular reference to minimal standards and the way in which these standards are being met. A study of the American family indicates how radically the character of some of our basic institutions has changed. How can we care for dependents in the modern family and society? Is it true that America assumes that the two-income family is a perfectly good and logical pattern? Is the modern husband and father satisfied to submerge his native instinct for domination of the family scene in an effort to supply, with aid of his wife's income, the modern gadgets which are now an important part of family life?

These are a few of the questions discussed. There are statistics on broken families which seem to indicate that despite the rising divorce rate the percentage of families broken from all causes and the number of children in such families have actually decreased. The ethical prob-

lems raised by this study are manifold and will be discussed in a concluding critique.

Christian Ethics and Economic Life will present in a wider perspective the central issues of the studies just described, especially from the point of view of the meaning of American responsibility in the world scene. The Christian standards that relate to both the domestic and the international issues raised are to be discussed and evaluated. A final section will deal with the strategy of the Protestant churches as they bite into these problems in their own life and work.

Under an additional grant from the Rockefeller Foundation the studies are being continued on two main levels: one, further investigation of the attitudes of people toward the American economic system and the relationship of the system to Christian values; and, secondly, the field of social responsibilities, particularly those of labor leaders, farmers, professional people, and the Government.

The ultimate purpose of the study is to provide a foundation for responsible individual and social action and for educational work in Christian ethics and economics in the seminaries, the universities, lay groups, and the churches in America.

Write to the National Council, 297 Fourth Ave., New York City, for additional information about this project.

BLACK SILENCE—FEAR

(Continued from page 15)

This pattern of orthodoxy that is shaping our thinking has dangerous implications. No one man, no one group, can have the answer to the many perplexing problems that today confront the management of world affairs. The scene is a troubled and complicated one. The problems require the pooling of many ideas, the exposure of different points of view, the hammering out in public discussions of the pros and cons of this policy or of that.

There are few who know firsthand the conditions in the villages of Asia, the South Pacific, South America, and Africa. There are few who really know the powerful forces operating from the grass roots in those areas—forces that are reflected in the attitudes of the men who head up the Governments in those countries. But unless we know those attitudes, we cannot manage intelligently. Unless we know, we will waste our energies and our resources. Unless we know, we are not in position to win even political alliances of an enduring nature. Unless we are eager to know, unless we invite a flood of information on these problems, unless we encourage every avenue of approach to them, we will live in ignorance.

There are those who think that our present policy toward Asia will lead to disaster—for us. There are

those who believe that in Asia we are fast becoming the symbol of what the people of Asia fear and hate. There are those who believe that the most effective bases we can get in Asia are bases in the hearts of Asia's millions, not bases on their lands. There are those who believe that we must substitute a political for a military strategy in Asia; that when there is a cease fire in Korea, we must make a political settlement with Red China; that if we apply to China the attitude we are now brilliantly exploiting in Yugoslavia, we can manage to make Soviet imperialism crumble.

There are those who are deeply opposed, many of whom put that issue beyond the pale of discussion. There are even some who make the crucial test of one's loyalty or sanity his acceptance or rejection of our present policy toward Asia.

The question of our Asian policy illustrates the need for a wide range of free public discussion. Asia possesses probably the most critical issues of the day. Certain it is that if Asia, like China, is swept into the political orbit of Soviet Russia, the Soviets will then command or be able to immobilize *the bulk of the people of the world—the bulk of the wealth of the world*. If that happens, it is doubtful if we, with all our atomic bombs, could even win a war.

The great danger of this period is not inflation, nor the national debt, nor atomic warfare. The great, the

critical, danger is that we will so limit or narrow the range of permissible discussion and permissible thought that we will become victims of the orthodox school. If we do, we will lose flexibility. We will lose the capacity for expert management. We will then become wedded to a few techniques, to a few devices. They will define our policy and at the same time limit our ability to alter or modify it. Once we narrow the range of thought and discussion, we will surrender a great deal of our power. We will become like the man on the toboggan who can ride it but who can neither steer it nor stop it.

The mind of man must always be free. The strong society is one that sanctions and encourages freedom of thought and expression. When there is that freedom, a nation has resiliency and adaptability. When freedom of expression is supreme, a nation will keep its balance.

Our real power is our spiritual strength, and that spiritual strength stems from our civil liberties. If we

are true to our traditions, if we are tolerant of a whole market place of ideas, we will always be strong. Our weakness grows when we become intolerant of opposing ideas, depart from our standards of civil liberties, and borrow the policeman's philosophy from the enemy we detest.

That has been the direction of our drift. It is dangerous to the morale of our people; it is destructive of the influence and prestige of our country. The demands of orthodoxy already have begun to sap our strength—and to deprive us of power. One sees it from far-off Asia. From Asia one sees an America that is losing its humanity, its idealism, and its Christian character. From Asia one sees an America that is strong and rich and powerful, and yet crippled and ineffective because of its limited vision.

When we view this problem full face we are following the American tradition. The times demand a renaissance in freedom of thought and freedom of expression, a renaissance that will end the orthodoxy that threatens to devitalize us.

Justice Louis D. Brandeis had a philosophy of life and a concept of citizenship that in its application today would seem dangerous to many people. He had a conviction that citizenship carried duties as well as rights and that these duties were more than the duty to pay taxes and the duty to vote. He felt that each individual should assume a civic role, get at the heart of public issues, carry those issues into the public forum, and promote a discussion of them by people of all walks of life.

He knew that the democratic way of life is not an inheritance but an achievement of every oncoming generation. The spurs have to be worn by each new contestant.—*William O. Douglas.*

Christian ACTION

GIVE RURAL CHILDREN AN EDUCATION

Agriculture is the number one stumbling block in the efforts to obtain compliance with the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. According to the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions more children were found employed unlawfully in farming than in any other major segment of American industry, for the year ending June 30, 1951.

In 1951, a total of 3,465 children under 16 were found employed in agriculture during school hours. In 1950, a total of 728 children had been found employed illegally on farms. In farming areas throughout the country very young children were found working in the fields from sunup to sundown.

Because the Fair Labor Standards amendments that became effective in January, 1950, narrowed the exemption applying to child labor in agriculture, the Divisions placed more emphasis on child-labor investigations on farms during the 1951 fiscal year than ever before. Their aim was to promote compliance with the new prohibition of the employment of children under 16 years of age on farms during school hours of the school district where the child lives while working.

Although the minimum age for employment of minors on farms during school hours is 16 years, 66 per cent of the under-age children the Divisions' investigators found working in agriculture were not even 14 years old. Some little boys and girls were no more than 5. In the very young age group ranging from 5 to 9 years

were 521 of the illegally employed children, or 15 per cent of the total. In the next older group, comprising children of 10 to 13 years, were 1,749 boys and girls, or 51 per cent.

The Divisions' reports show that work on five crops—cotton, strawberries, potatoes, tomatoes, and onions—engaged 82 per cent of the children under 16.

In many rural areas children are excused from school attendance during crop seasons; and many, because they are employed on farms, drop out of school before they are 16 years of age. Children of migrant farm workers often get very little schooling, either in their home communities or in the areas to which their families go temporarily for farm work. Irregular school attendance makes it difficult for boys and girls to keep up with their classes and encourages dropping out entirely at an early age. School attendance records show that the average school attendance in rural areas is below that in urban areas.

Of course, the first step toward giving these boys and girls an opportunity for education is to take them out of the fields through enforcing the law, and this is the responsibility of the United States Department of Labor. But even if the Department could immediately investigate all the commercial farms in the country and see that children were no longer employed on them during school hours, this would not mean that the children would thereupon attend school.

Before many of these boys and girls can be offered an opportunity to get an edu-

cation, many rural schools, short of funds and of teachers, will need to expand their facilities with the help of community resources. Some of these rural schools will find it necessary also to adapt their courses of study to the needs of the new pupils, many of whom will be found to be very much retarded.

Many children will not be permitted to enter school until they have been vaccinated or have received other health services. Some will not have the clothes usually considered suitable for school wear; some may not be welcomed by pupils or teachers for personal and social reasons.

These are some of the many steps that must be taken before these rural children, now released by the new law from the jobs that kept them from any possibility of going to school, can begin to get the education that is their right.

It is obvious that the children themselves, and their parents, cannot do much toward taking these steps—that the responsibility for this kind of action belongs to the communities where the children and their families are living.

Illustrated Pamphlet Guide

In order to help the people of the rural communities fulfill this responsibility, the United States Department of Labor's bulletin *Help Get Children Into School and out of Farm Jobs During School Hours* (No. 128) suggests various methods of spreading understanding of the law. The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., is one of the thirty-one national organizations joining with the Department of Labor in sponsoring this material.

It urges farmers, educators, school boards and trustees, parent-teacher groups, church leaders, and citizen groups to take action with their neighbors for the protection of children in agriculture.

The President has called to the attention of Congress the inadequate educational opportunities for children of migra-

tory workers. He recommended a special appropriation of \$181,000 to enable the Office of Education to work out special teaching materials and methods suited to their education. U.S. Commissioner of Education, Earl J. McGrath, has estimated that the number of children involved may be somewhere between 250,000 and 1,500,000. He said:

"Migrant children have the lowest educational attainments of any group in the nation. They start school later, attend fewer days, show greatest retardation, achieve the least progress, drop out of school earliest, and constitute the largest single reservoir of the illiterates."

Research and Action Program

If Congress votes the necessary funds, the U.S. Office of Education is prepared to undertake a research-and-action program directed toward identifying, understanding, and helping to meet the educational needs of migratory agricultural workers and their children. This program would be undertaken jointly with other agencies and institutions, and it is contemplated that the bulk of whatever funds may be made available would be used in co-operative agreements with non-Federal agencies and institutions for—

1. The development of interstate agreements and co-operative working relationships (including financing of interstate aspects of the problem) which would provide effective year-round programs and extended school services for the children of agricultural migrant workers.

2. Adequate identification of migrant children, with the purpose of obtaining earlier entrance into school, longer and more regular attendance periods each year, and summer educational opportunities where necessary and useful.

3. The development of a workable system of records and reports to aid the school in keeping in touch with each migrant child.

4. A supply of teachers specially

trained and experienced to deal more adequately with the problems and progress of the migrant child.

5. The development of short-term, self-contained, easy-to-use instructional outlines or workbooks which the child could take from place to place.

6. The development of supplementary materials in a geography, history, health, science, and arithmetic which would fit in

with each short-term instructional unit. These units could also move along with the child.

7. The encouragement of attitudes of acceptance on the part of school administrators and teachers, so that temporary residents become "our children" while they are in the community.

—*Louise Q. Blodgett, Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.*

UP TO DATE ON THE UN

The seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations opened on October 14 at the headquarters in New York, for the first time in its new building.

The value of the Assembly, consisting of all member states, is not necessarily the specific actions taken by the group but, rather, exposing world tensions, providing an open forum, and showing progress in understanding and action on problems of peoples and nations. The same questions arise each year, for most problems require continued study and co-operation. The disarmament program claimed much attention in Paris in 1951 and will again in New York in 1952. Proposals for regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of both armed forces and armaments will be further discussed. Whether support can be secured from the Soviet block is yet to be seen.

Land reform and technical assistance were outstanding questions before the sixth Assembly. The resolution recommending land-reform programs was approved without a dissenting vote. Under the resolution, Governments agreed to carry out measures proposed by the Economic and Social Council:

1. Give the cultivator of the land a secure tenure, a fair share of what he produced, and opportunity for ownership.

2. Organize landholdings into farms of efficient size.

3. Provide credit at reasonable rates, prevent high rentals, and remove unfair tax loads.

4. Promote co-operatives and encourage rural industries.

A number of resolutions dealt with technical assistance. One calls for the setting up of a fund to give assistance for economic development purposes; one to help Governments to increase housing facilities for low-income groups and to get priority for building materials for low-income housing.

Technical Assistance is an active program. For example, in 1951, 145 projects were begun in 38 countries and will require 513 experts. Fifteen of the 38 countries were in Latin America, 9 in the Middle East, 8 in Asia and the Far East, 3 in Africa, 3 in Europe. Experts will be sent by the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, the International Labor Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund.

Rules have been set up by the Economic and Social Council and include such provisions as:

1. Aid given must be requested by Governments.

2. Projects must strengthen the political and economic independence of the people getting help.

3. Assistance may include experts sent out under UN organizations.

4. Fellowships will be given for training local officials, securing of technical infor-

mation, and, under some conditions, demonstrating equipment.

Getting the experts is the real key to an effective program. They must combine the knowledge of the scholar with the zeal of a missionary and a sympathetic attitude toward the problems and the people.

The Point Four program of the U.S.A. must be closely related to that of the UN Technical Assistance Board, so a close liaison is being worked out.

Seven areas in Africa are being aided by

the UN Trusteeship Council: Somaliland under Italian administration, Ruanda-Urundi under Belgium, Tanganyika under the United Kingdom, two areas of Togoland under British and French, Cameroons under British and French. As the churches go into their mission study program, reports on these trust areas will afford good supplementary material. Write to the UN for Release TR /747.—*By Mabel Head, Observer at the United Nations for the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*

TEN-POINT GUIDE TOWARD PEACE

Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, has given the churchmen of our nation a ten-point guide for personal Christian action in promoting world peace and justice. Dr. Nolde believes that the world outreach of the churches has made, and will continue to make, an essential contribution to a world community that transcends barriers of race and culture, but it is essential that this missionary movement be free from entanglements of national and economic interests.

Here is Dr. Nolde's ten-point guide:

1. Seek peace and justice for all men, without distinction as to race, color, or nationality, with the sure hope that God's will shall be done on earth as in heaven.

2. In a world of tension and conflict, stand fast in the Christian faith whereby alone personal stability can be maintained and a life of service invigorated.

3. Recognize the danger of totalitarianism which seeks to capture the souls of men and to control the life of the Christian community—in whatever form or in whatever land it may appear—and devise methods of resistance which may prove most effective.

4. In the process of securing information about world affairs through the press, magazines, radio, and television, have an objective point of view which will avoid hysteria or hatred and lead to balanced action.

5. While condemning the evils of others which contribute to world conflict, avoid self-righteousness and courageously press for measures which will help us put our own house in order.

6. Encourage international assistance programs and the observance of human rights for the solution of world problems but, at the same time, strengthen domestic society by acts of service and the promotion of freedom and justice in the home, in personal relations, and in the community.

7. Keep alive the sense of fellowship with peoples separated by artificial curtains and seek continuously a sympathetic understanding of changing conditions so that opportunities for personal contact may be effectively used.

8. Steadily cultivate the spirit of reconciliation in order to make possible better relations between conflicting powers at every point where differences can be resolved without appeasement or compromise of fundamental principle.

9. Be a responsible citizen of the nation and of the world, recognizing that the obligation as members of the world family must be direct action within the nation.

10. Co-operate with organized Christian action for peace and justice—for example, with the work of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs—knowing that an effective impact requires the co-ordination of Christian resources.

★ *Citizenship* ★

GROWING PROBLEMS FOR MIGRANTS

X For some fifteen years congress and certain administrative agencies of the Federal Government have recognized the growing problems surrounding migratory labor and have made various efforts to alleviate these problems. However, while there has been general agreement on the facts and the need, there has been wide disagreement on remedies and solutions, and little that is constructive has been accomplished.

At the present time Federal responsibility for this problem is divided among six departments or agencies: Agriculture, Labor, Justice, State, Federal Security Administration, and Housing and Home Finance Agency. There is no machinery whereby any provision is made for co-ordinating the efforts of these various agencies.

Following various Congressional investigations and several inquiries conducted by the executive branch of the Government over a period of years, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in June of this year introduced an original bill (S.3300) providing for the establishment of a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor. The bill provides that this committee would be made up of three public members and one member from each of the six Federal agencies now dealing with the problems of migrants. It would attempt to co-ordinate existing programs and establish a comprehensive national policy. It would aim at making seasonal employment in agriculture commensurate with conditions of other employment, help guarantee an adequate labor force—resident if possible—aid in the reduction of unnecessary migratory movements of agricultural workers, and consult and co-operate with all state and area committees.

The bill was the result of extensive hearings conducted by a subcommittee in February and March, at which representatives of Federal Government departments, state Governments, labor organizations, farm groups, grower associations, civic, welfare, and church groups testified before the subcommittee.

Migrant Bill

The bill states: "The Congress finds that the employment of migratory agricultural workers presents grave problems of national scope. The services of the migratory workers are urgently needed, yet their employment does not provide a livelihood consonant with American standards. The national interest in protecting the health and welfare of American citizens demands that measures be taken to protect the health and welfare of migratory workers moving across state lines."

In its official report recommending passage of the bill the committee said: "In its present form, migratory agricultural labor has been a national problem for some two decades. Emerging in the '30's as a product of the Dust Bowl, the widespread adoption of tractors to farming, and the disintegration of tenancy in the South, it has been kept alive and increased by the uneven rate of mechanization between cultivation and harvest functions of key heavy labor-using crops, and by the practice, which seems to be increasing, of planting great concentrations of acreage within given areas to single crops, which mature simultaneously, thus outstripping local labor supplies. In these last years, some 1,000,000 migratory workers have been employed to supplement the larger

number of nonmigratory seasonal workers who constitute about 2,250,000 persons."

The report (Senate Report No. 1686, 82d Congress, 2d session) emphasized that while it was proposing the establishment of a Federal committee to assist in the development of a unified Federal program it hoped also to provide machinery whereby Federal and state programs might supplement each other. It noted that the following five states had established special machinery for dealing with migratory labor problems: Colorado, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin.

A Labor Problem

At a national conference held in Washington at the time that the above bill was reported to Congress, several Federal executives having responsibility in this field pointed up the necessity for legislation of this type. William L. Connolly, Director of the Bureau of Labor Standards in the Department of Labor, said that the migrant problem is essentially a labor problem and should be dealt with in that way. He felt that his Bureau could, with a special appropriation, work with state committees where they existed and help in the long-term problems of educating owners to meet their responsibilities and workers to demand their rights.

For the Public Health Service, Dr. Henry Makover said that migrants present a real challenge to public health and safety in their capacity to get and spread disease. There must be mobile health units to provide real medical care as they move from place to place, and he feels that the Federal Government is the only agency that can provide such facilities. He looked upon these Federal units as a means of providing the stimulus for interest and co-operation between local doctors and county and state medical groups. He thinks that migrant housing should be made the responsibility of health authorities.

Dr. Galen Jones of the U. S. Office of Education emphasized that migrant families are a permanent part of the agricultural scene, and provision must be made for their needs as permanent needs and not temporary requirements. Migrant children have the lowest educational attainment of any in the country and the highest percentage of illiterates. While there are laws preventing children from working during the school day, Dr. Jones said there are no schools for them to attend, and the laws cannot be enforced. The Office of Education has had a small program going since June, 1951, on a budget of \$151,000, but its request for \$181,000 for the coming year was turned down.

Legislation Needed

In summing up its reasons for urging adoption of this bill the Senate committee cited: (1) the need for an integrated Federal program; (2) the need for long-range planning as well as short-run planning toward providing growers reliable workers in the numbers needed, and providing workers reliable employment; (3) the committee's preference to see this manpower problem handled by the functional departments and agencies presently with responsibilities rather than by establishing a new agency of government; (4) the need for liaison machinery with state Governments.

This legislation, introduced in the closing weeks of the 82d Congress, got caught in the adjournment rush and was not acted upon. It is expected that it will be reintroduced in the new Congress early in January, and it is to be hoped that favorable Congressional action will not be too long delayed. However, alert and interested state and local groups will be urgently needed to aid in pointing up this problem and in the effective utilization of Federal assistance.

—Helen Lineweaver

About Books

The United Nations, by Vandenbosch and Hogan. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

The authors have performed a very distinct and useful service in this book by combining the background needed to understand the growth of world community, by showing the structure of the United Nations, by evaluating its activities, and by suggesting ways to strengthen this "going concern."

In Part I—"Background"—the growing interdependence of peoples is briefly sketched to show how man's capacity to organize a world community lags behind the forces that are making such a community. The discussions of the development of international co-operation, international law, and the League of Nations are brief but clear.

Part II gives a clear analysis of the organization of the United Nations and its basic characteristics. The authors clearly show its chief function to be collective security. This, they recognize, is not confined to the military or political fields but to collective action in the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the welfare of non-self-governing people.

Part III looks at the record of the UN—how it works and its accomplishments. The chapters dealing with political problems have brought together a clear analysis of actions often puzzling even to one fairly familiar with the UN. The analysis of economic and social co-operation is equally well done.

Finally, the chapter dealing with ways to strengthen the United Nations is more open to question than other parts of the

book. It is a well-known fact that many nations, especially the big ones, have not fully used the UN or given it adequate support in their national policies. This will come to pass only when intelligent public opinion leads citizens to insist on such support.

Clear-cut decisions are stated and at least partially substantiated—"The UN has been strengthened during the years of its existence"; "It has demonstrated that it can prevent or stop wars"; "The very existence of the UN presents continuously opportunity for peaceful settlement and encourages the use of pacific methods"; "The UN provides a forum in which small nations can exert real influence"; "The success of the UN is linked with the future of modern civilization."

The book includes valuable documents such as the Charter of the United Nations; the Statute of the International Court of Justice; Wilson's Fourteen Points; the Covenant of the League of Nations; the Four Freedoms; the UN Declaration; and many others.

In about four hundred pages the book presents valuable resource material—a wealth of information condensed but clear. It might well be said, How can one small book contain so much?

—Mabel Head

Gambling: Should It Be Legalized?
by Virgil W. Peterson. Charles C. Thomas, Publisher. \$2.75.

The Operating Director of the Chicago Crime Commission collected and compiled the valuable data in this book. It appears at a time when many states and municipalities are toying with the idea of legaliz-

ing gambling in order to bring it under control (incidentally, to add to revenues). Mr. Peterson presents the history of nearly all the efforts that have been made in the United States to control gambling by legalizing it. Every effort has been a failure. Nevada is the only state with legalized gambling among the forty-eight, and already Nevada is asking some serious questions. Experience has proved that the legalization of gambling has never succeeded in driving out the dishonest people who thrive on the business. Proper statutes to outlaw gambling and honest law enforcement are the only known ways of keeping society from becoming the victim of gambling interests. Legalization could not possibly succeed unless law enforcement was possible. Since law enforcement is already available, legalization of gambling would not hold in the solution of the problem. The last paragraph of the book is the conclusion of this noble inquiry:

"History clearly reflects that legalized gambling in America has never eliminated any abuses. Instead, it has greatly increased economic, social and political evils. There is no place for legalized gambling in an enlightened society."

—*Earl F. Zeigler*

British Planning and Nationalization, by Ben W. Lewis. Twentieth Century Fund, Inc. \$3.00.

The Twentieth Century Fund realized that even though the Labor Party was defeated in the 1951 elections, nationalization of large segments of the British economy will undoubtedly continue. Ben W. Lewis, professor of economics at Oberlin College, prepared for the Twentieth Century Fund this brief survey of the progress of nationalization up to the time of the change in government. His factual report outlining the program's purposes, how the respective industries were nationalized and the way they are organized and have operated since then—will shed light on questions now obscured. In addition to its

informing picture of the situation in Britain, this book has a direct bearing on some current American policies and proposals.

History and Human Relations, by Herbert Butterfield. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

Professor Butterfield, as a true historian, in this series of eight brilliant and interesting essays, helps us to understand the importance of the long view of past events as well as the knowledge of what is going on in the individual human mind, if we are to cope with the bewildering problems of human relations which vex society and the nations.

Although he recognizes the contribution of the Marxists in their emphasis on the influence of the historical stream of events upon human action, he shows their weakness in subordinating personality to the state and in their acceptance of a false materialism. He insists throughout that "human beings are the real makers of history," though they are conditioned by the past and by present conditions.

With perfect frankness he recognizes the "dangers of history," in its use for propaganda purposes, in its passing of moral judgments without knowing what is going on in the mind of man. He looks to the dynamic of the "one ultimate law of Christian love" as the only solution of our human relations.

Professor Butterfield writes about history as history should be written for the public—as an expression of good literature. The common citizen, as well as the statesman, will here find real help in dealing with our current problems.

—*Harvey E. Holt*

The Conduct of Life, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc. \$6.00.

When a sincere Christian becomes complacent about how easily his particular gospel will save the world, this is a book for

him to read. The author is an incisive diagnostician. One of the most erudite of contemporary scholars writes a careful and penetrating analysis of the disease of our times. His diagnosis is sweeping and concrete. But the author has no place for the current pessimisms. He sees a way and a hope. Nevertheless, he will not have us put our faith in any of the traditional orthodoxies of religion, either East or West. He holds none of Toynbee's confidence in the power of Christianity to save civilization. His hope is in a new universalism, a syncretism that will take the best insights of all the great faiths and move toward a daring world brotherhood in which individual persons are of supreme worth. If this sounds naïve or lighthearted, it does him injustice. His plea is for "whole men" given to a life that employs all the resources of science, art, and religion. One of the most exciting sections of the book is an evaluation and criticism of the life and work of Albert Schweitzer. The great flaw seems to this reviewer to lie in an inadequate metaphysics and theology. What motive besides fear or highly sophisticated good will can drive men to this kind of unselfish living? Whence the power? This answer does not appear in spite of the author's high regard for the great religious spirits of all the ages, and a surprising plea for a daily half hour of silent meditation. This is not a book for hasty reading, for it has its difficult and even obscure passages. But it is solid meat for men of growing faith who welcome the hard question and the honest doubt.

—Herbert Nelson Brockway

Let's Go Into Politics, by Raymond E. Baldwin. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

Let's Go Into Politics deals with political organization and activity primarily on the local and state but also on the national levels. Judge Baldwin has drawn upon his personal experiences and the experiences of others whom he knows to illustrate his thesis that, by and large, most of the peo-

ple that one meets in politics are industrious, honest, and well-intentioned. His book treats of the human side of politics, the processes of democracy in our republic, in action rather than in theory. It tells how the towns themselves are politically organized, how issues are formed on the town and the state level, how campaigns are waged, the vote is got out, the parts played by political leaders and bosses. It shows how people get started in politics, how a political career develops. *Let's Go Into Politics* removes the mystery about party machine operations and describes the workings of government.

Current Research in International Affairs. Introduction by Frederick S. Dunn. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York.

This survey is the fifth in the series that was undertaken by the Carnegie Endowment in 1948. It furnishes a broad picture of the research now being carried on by private research agencies and by departments and special research institutes in the United States.

The bibliography serves as an indication of the significant trends and developments in the study of international affairs. Those institutions have been included that deal (1) with relations between two or more countries, (2) with particular problems that have a major impact upon relations among nations, and (3) with particular geographical areas the problems of which vitally affect international affairs.

The Churches and Agricultural Policy, a preliminary study. A 12-page pamphlet by the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. 5 cents.

Church groups are urged to study the problems of agriculture and their bearing upon national and world economy and to send their reports and recommendations to the National Council.

When Politics Gets Into the Church

SOMETIMES people are worried about the Church's getting into politics. It is clear that ministers, in their role as churchmen, should in almost no circumstances become involved in partisan political campaigns. What Dr. Richard Graebel of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Illinois, did on a famous summer Sunday morning does not seem to be a violation of this standard. It would seem to be the right and duty of a minister to correct a false statement that has been given wide currency especially when it concerns a member of his congregation.

What really give us trouble are the occasions when politics gets into churches. In some parts of the country this fall, for example, it has been virtually impossible to discuss the United Nations and human rights in our churches because certain politicians have screamed "dangerous" and "subversive" whenever these subjects were mentioned. A study of such subjects as human rights and the United Nations has been on the agenda of our churches for a long time. But now, because some people are trying to make political issues of them, taking positions quite different from those the churches generally take, there are people who would ban their consideration.

The height of absurdity was reached in October when presumably responsible leaders forbade an interpretative presentation of materials related to the National Missions study theme, "Home Missions and Human Rights," in certain interchurch women's meetings.

Senator Bricker, it was said, had intimated that the study book *These Rights We Hold*, by Fred Brownlee, was "pink." The rumor had spread across at least three states in the Middle West.

Senator Bricker, of course, had said no such thing. In a letter addressed to Dr. Leslie Sayre, of the Joint Commission on Missionary Education of the National Council of Churches, Mr. Bricker said: "My recollection of the book is that it urges the promotion of world-wide respect for human rights by the United Nations. I am in complete sympathy with that objective. I have never criticized



the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is discussed at length in *These Rights We Hold*."

If this editorial stirs you to read Mr. Brownlee's book and to encourage its study in your church, we shall be very happy. The National Missions study theme this year is exceedingly timely and important.

One Man Looks at the Loyalty Oath

A GRADUATE medical student in Philadelphia, deacon in a historic Presbyterian church, recently had an opportunity to join the staff of a hospital maintained by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. On examining the loyalty oath that the state requires of all its employees, he wrote to the director of the hospital as follows:

"As individuals, neither my wife nor I have any fear that we will perjure ourselves by signing this document. . . . We want to support the Constitution of the United States as much as it is in any person's power to uphold it. We have more than a small interest in preventing action to overthrow the present form of government by force, and, in fact, I have so sworn upon voluntarily joining the United States Army in February, 1943, and have upheld that oath through three battles in 1944 and 1945.

"Specifically, the law that puts teeth into the loyalty oath limits my rights as a citizen in five ways:

"1. It gives my employer (in this case the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania or its representative) the right to judge my loyalty and to dismiss me without due process of law.

"2. It permits any man who might accuse me of perjury under such an act to put the burden of proof of innocence on myself. Under English and American jurisprudence the proof of guilt lies with the accuser only. A man is innocent in our tradition until his accuser has proven that he is guilty.

"3. If an individual is accused falsely and is able to prove his innocence, his reputation may already have suffered irreparable damage. A physician, for instance, needs only one such slur, false as it may be, and his practice is finished.

"4. A man may be guilty by implication under this law—again denying one of the fundamentals of English-American jurisprudence. Because I refuse to sign this oath for reasons of conscience only, I am open to accusations of being 'Pink.'

"5. The last point may be a little more difficult to see. My belief is that

such laws as the law forcing all employees of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to sign the loyalty oath in themselves weaken the Constitution by denying the individual certain rights, and thus open the way to a police state and further attempts to control large sections of the population ending in the concentration of power in very few hands.

"For these reasons which are based on conscience alone and not on fear of perjury do I decline to sign the loyalty oath. If the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania will hire me despite this difficulty, I will gladly work in its employ. If not, I will be forced to find other work or to seek employment outside the limits of the Commonwealth."

We offer this statement for what it is worth.

Memos for Ministers

THE next time you receive a wedding fee (from a couple outside of your church, of course) I suggest that you use part of it to subscribe for *The A. A. Grapevine*, the official monthly publication of Alcoholics Anonymous. I can imagine no better investment of \$2.50, the price of a year's subscription. The address is P. O. Box 85, Knickerbocker Station, New York 2, N. Y. The magazine is published by and for people who have come through alcoholism to recovery and sobriety. It has more downright religion in it than almost anything that comes to your desk. I dare you to read it through with a dry eye.

And with some of the rest of your wedding fee, I would suggest a subscription for *Religion and Health*, edited by Russell Dicks and published at Box 4802 Duke Station, Durham, N. C., at \$3.00 a year. This little publication is a new venture which deserves mightily to succeed. The initial issue appeared last February. It is full of articles every month that every minister ought to read for an understanding of sickness and of religion's ministry to the sick. An article by Dr. Dicks in the October issue, "Religion's Conflict with Medicine," deals sensitively with the question of what a doctor should tell a patient about his condition, and where the minister comes in.

Preview

IN THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, we recognize Human Rights Day, December 10, the anniversary of the day when the General Assembly of the United Nations ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Dr.

Paul Lehmann, Professor of Applied Christianity at Princeton Theological Seminary, has very effectively dealt with this subject in his article on civil liberties. Dr. Lehmann is widely known for his work in Christian ethics.

From time to time we like to present sermons dealing with sensitive social issues. The second article in this issue is based on a sermon preached in the Presbyterian church in Larchmont, New York, by the minister of the church, Dr. Floyd E. McGuire. Dr. McGuire is a member of the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and served as chairman of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action in the last General Assembly. I know of no minister who is more deeply loved in his church or more highly regarded in his community than Dr. McGuire. This sermon is typical of his strong and relevant preaching.

Dr. Sheldon Rahn, Presbyterian minister, is Director of the Social Service Department of the Detroit Council of Churches. He has long been a leader in the area of racial and cultural relations. His strong article tells of the struggles to achieve an effective FEPC law in Michigan.

We are especially proud to present in somewhat condensed form a study made by the staff of the Women's Division of the Methodist Church of current attacks upon the United Nations and its agencies. These attacks have resulted in the now notorious Bricker Resolution (S.J. Res. 130) "proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties and executive agreements." This amendment would make it forever impossible for our country to engage in any agreements or treaties with other nations affecting human rights in any way.

The Bar Association of the City of New York has made a careful study of the Bricker proposals and has released its findings in a 48-page pamphlet, a few copies of which are available through the Department of Social Education and Action. We urge the careful study of the whole matter, especially in the light of recent General Assembly pronouncements.

The "Sanctuary" pages in this issue have been prepared by Dr. George Peters of Burlingame, California, chairman of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action. We call special attention to the "Christian Action" section by Margaret Kuhn with its United Nations panel and quiz. Miss Mabel Head, our observer at the United Nations, reports on the opening of the seventh session of the General Assembly of the UN. Her report reflects the insight of a student of international affairs. Helen Lineweaver with her usual skill has prepared the section on "Christian Citizenship."

—Clifford Earle

The Christian Faith and Civil Liberties

By PAUL LEHMANN, *Stephen Colwell Professor of Systematic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary.*

THE abrogation of civil liberties in the United States continues. A book-burning in Oklahoma can be distinguished from the book purge under Soviet auspices in Vienna only by the number of volumes cast into the flames. The battle for free schools erupts in such diverse places as New York and Los Angeles, Phoenix and Bronxville, and afflicts secondary as well as college and university education. The issue of the conflict is the control of the public mind. There are those who believe that the best control of what people think is the free dissemination and discussion of ideas. There are others who believe that ideas and discussion must be controlled by legal or organized social pressure from without.

On this level, American democracy has shown itself healthy and flexible enough to keep a fairly even score between victories and defeats. Meanwhile, an imperceptible and persistent effort of another sort is being made. This is the effort to set the legal stage for the almost instantaneous suspension of the free concourse of ideas should the state of the nation seem to require it. What is going on is particularly perilous because it is almost impossible to keep a vigi-

lant citizenry abreast of it. In July, 1951, for instance, James V. Bennett, Federal Director of Prisons, asked, at a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee, for a special appropriation "to take over and operate six stand-by camps in connection with the detention of persons who might be picked up as subversives in accordance with the provisions of the McCarran Act."

In January, 1952, the press reported the introduction into the Senate of a bill, sponsored by Senator Eastland of Mississippi, which would by concurrent resolution of the Congress declare the existence of an internal security emergency and "place into full effect" the detention provisions of the McCarran Act. Title II of this act (Public Law 831 of the 81st Congress) provides that "whenever there shall be in existence such an emergency, the President, acting through the Attorney General, is hereby authorized to apprehend and by order detain . . . each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage."

A little reflection on these provisions suggests that here is a blueprint

for concentration camps American style. Democratic processes are being used to undermine the very foundations of the American constitutional structure. Happily, the late Adolph J. Sabbath, Congressman from Illinois, had introduced a bill (H.R. 3118) which provides for the repeal of the McCarran Act.

The legislative battle is thus also still open. In the wake of the election, it promises to be waged with renewed and critical urgency. If, as the commentators have been saying, the victory of General Eisenhower was a personal more than a party victory, almost everything depends upon the sincerity and vigor of his determination to implement his campaign commitment against "witch hunts" and "character assassination." The President-elect has carried with him into the Congress, and into the reorganized leadership of the Senate and the House, men whom he not only refused to repudiate during the campaign but who will now be able to reinforce their passion for villification, distortion, and the turning of every man against his neighbor, by the tremendous power of committee chairmanships.

At this writing, it appears that Representative Harold H. Velde of Illinois is in line for the chairmanship of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He has already fathered proposals that the Librarian of Congress be required by law to list

all books that could be regarded as "subversive," and that a loyalty oath be made a requirement for voting in national elections.

In the Senate, Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin appears to be in line for the chairmanship of the Committee on Government Operations, until recently called the "Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department." (See the dispatch from Washington by John D. Morris in *The New York Times*, November 8, 1952, p. 30.)

Hitherto, the executive branch of the government has refused to surrender its confidential files to the legislative branch. What the newly staffed executive branch will do is not yet clear. But it would be difficult to overestimate its decision as a "straw in the wind."

There can be no doubt what civic action should be taken by all those who are genuinely committed to the health and survival of American democracy. The Bill of Rights is still the crucial test of whether a person is really loyal to the heritage and the foundation of free institutions. And the Bill of Rights is being undermined by the current hysteria of fear and mistrust among us and by those who nourish this hysteria.

What is not so clear is that the responsibility of loyalty to the Bill of Rights is a concrete Christian responsibility. When the clergy of the city of Milwaukee can support Sen-

ator McCarthy's campaign by a large majority; when the Synod of New Jersey cannot even bring itself to pass a mild resolution in opposition to Senator McCarthy's tactics and their consequences for fear of being misunderstood; when considerable numbers of Christian people are not only unable to react instinctively against calculated circulation of hatred and untruth but are also able to defend it—the lack of a clear and compelling grasp of the Christian faith and the gulf between the Christian faith and our common life are enormous.

The fear of misunderstanding is certainly no Biblical criterion of the obedience of the Christian Church. Even an elementary understanding of the God of the Bible, of the patriarchs and the prophets, of Jesus Christ and of the apostles can scarcely fail to arouse the conscience of the people of God against those who “bend their tongue, as it were their bow, for falsehood,” who “are grown strong in the land, but not for truth: for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord” (Jer. 9: 3, A.S.V.). These words are part of a moving description by the prophet Jeremiah of the sorrow and the judgment of God upon the faithlessness and disobedience of the people whom God has singled out for his favor and service.

It is no accident that when people began to realize that Jesus of

Nazareth was God's own gift to men for their deliverance, they identified Jesus with Jeremiah. Jeremiah was one of the favorite prophets of Jesus; and the Gospels are emphatic on the point that Jesus is the fulfiller of the Prophets as well as of the Law.

The connection between the Christian faith and the Bill of Rights is derived from this connection between the prophets and Jesus. The connection is, of course, indirect. It is indirect because, according to the Bible, no social or political structures are the unambiguous expression of the will of God. It is indirect also because the Biblical view of God's ways with men regards everything in nature and in society as instrumental. “The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the world and those who dwell therein” (Ps. 24: 1 *). The decisive question is whether men—who are God's chief concern—use the goods of the earth and the institutions of society for obedience or for disobedience.

The criterion of obedience or disobedience is symbolic. Everything depends upon whether the acts and the institutions of men serve as pointers to the righteousness of God. The righteousness of God is the correspondence between God's will and God's purpose. This means that God

* Scripture quotations unless otherwise indicated are from the Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible, copyrighted, 1952, by the Division of Christian Education, National Council of Churches, and used by permission.

is doing definite things in the world to make his will known and to bring his purposes to fulfillment. It means too that, in the world as it is, the place to look for what God is doing is at those issues and situations which point up and point to a conflict between the self-righteousness and self-justification of men and the patterns of life which God is setting up in order that men may serve one another and acknowledge that God alone is right. At bottom, this is a conflict of power, a conflict between the power of men to absolutize ideas and institutions of their own making and the regenerative power of God. In a word it is a conflict between idolatry and praise.

The Bible is thoroughly realistic about this conflict. "For consider your call, brethren; not many of you were wise according to worldly standards, not many were powerful, not many were of noble birth; but God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise, God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong, God chose what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God (I Cor. 1: 26-29). So, the apostle Paul wrote to the Corin-

thians. And Paul is in precise agreement with the way Luke saw the conflict caused by the coming of Jesus. Before such a God men can only boast or praise.

In so far as the Bill of Rights is a constitutional political instrument for checking the inordinate use of power by nations or by individuals and groups within nations, it may be regarded as symbolic of what Calvin called "a symmetry and agreement between the righteousness of God and obedience in the life of" true believers. Such "symmetry and agreement," Calvin said, are "the end of regeneration" (*Institutes*, III, 6, 1). The inordinate use of power breeds self-righteousness and idolatry whenever the structures and the exercise of power are placed beyond effective criticism and control. The Christian faith is faith in a God who acts in the world not only against all self-righteousness and idolatry, but also positively, by transforming the motives and the structures of human life in accordance with the community of the Son of his love. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to bring the full weight of the Christian conscience to bear against all who imagine that they can preserve and strengthen democracy in America by weakening the structural guarantees of the liberties of the people.

We Proclaim Liberty

A sermon by FLOYD E. McGUIRE, Minister, The Larchmont Avenue Church, Larchmont, New York, and chairman of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, General Assembly of 1952.

SHORTLY after Jesus began his public ministry he returned to his home town of Nazareth where he went to worship in the synagogue on the Sabbath Day. It was there that Jesus proclaimed to his fellow townsmen the mission to which he had dedicated his life by standing up before his friends and neighbors and reading these words from the prophet Isaiah:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
because he has anointed me to
preach good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim release
to the captives
and recovering of sight to the blind,
to set at liberty those who are oppressed,
to proclaim the acceptable year of
the Lord.”* *

One of the fondest hopes of all generations of men has been for liberty. Isaiah proclaimed it seven hundred years before Christ. It has always been at the heart of the Christian hope.

Only a few years ago the name of

Wendell Willkie was indelibly impressed on the minds of Americans in connection with the word “liberty.” Some of us will never forget the opening words of his Madison Square Garden address at the close of his campaign for the Presidency, which were these: “Liberty, liberty, liberty.” There is also a statement in his book *One World* which some of us will never forget. After returning from his trip around the world he wrote: “Men and women all over the world are on the march, physically, intellectually, and spiritually. After centuries of ignorant and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people in Eastern Europe and Asia have opened the books.”

Men are still proclaiming liberty as Jesus proclaimed it two thousand years ago when he stood up to read in his home town of Nazareth, saying:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon
me. . . .

He has sent me . . .

to set at liberty those who are oppressed.”

Let us think of the oppressions under which men suffer and the need

*Scripture quotations unless otherwise indicated are from the Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible, copyrighted, 1952, by the Division of Christian Education, National Council of Churches, and used by permission.

for their liberation. For is not the Spirit of the Lord upon us who call ourselves Christians to "set at liberty those who are oppressed"?

In the first place let us proclaim liberty from mental oppression.

It is not always recognized that the withholding of information and the dissemination of false ideas are among the worst forms of mental oppression. A few years ago an ex-Communist sympathizer said that whereas he once thought there was more good than bad in the Communist way of life, he had now come to the conclusion that there was no good whatsoever in the Communist way. And, on the other hand, there was only evil in it because it sought the complete enslavement of the human mind.

One of the most essential liberties for the preservation of the Christian and democratic way of life is that of a free press which can insure liberty of thought and expression. Liberty from mental oppression also involves freedom of speech and freedom of worship. But when we advocate liberty of thought, speech, and press we are aware of the responsibilities that go along with freedom. It is an abuse of freedom to publish lies. It is not a responsible use of liberty to engage in slander, maliciousness, or personal abuse. Reinhold Niebuhr in his latest book, *The Irony of American History*, quotes John Cotton, early

American Puritan leader, as saying: "Let all the world give mortal man no greater power than they are content they shall use, for use it they will. . . . And they that have the liberty to speak great things you will find that they will speak great blasphemies." But there can never be a free world until the minds of men are free to seek the truth. So we proclaim liberty for the mind.

In the second place, we Christians must always remember that one of the greatest oppressions of this world is still that of economic oppression.

This is difficult for many Americans to understand because of the high standard of living in this country. But the very fact of our own high standard of living becomes a problem for America because of the jealousy, misunderstanding, and misery of other peoples of the world. Here we are living in a world in which four fifths of the population are in a state of misery, poverty, and ill-health. Frank C. Laubach, a world authority on the economic and social needs of the world's population, tells us that out of the 2,200 million people in the world, 1,700 million are usually in debt all their lives; they are in want, more or less oppressed and exploited, and increasingly unhappy and determined to be free from want. These people are mostly in Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. Laubach makes this statement: "It

is not for nothing that four fifths of the human race have changed from a state of despair to a new grim resolve to come up from poverty and oppression; that determination is growing everywhere and growing with ever accelerating rapidity."

One of the great tragedies of the modern world is the fact that the economically oppressed peoples of the world have turned in large numbers from the hope that they once had in America and its proclamation of liberty to other ideologies which have promised greater economic aid. America can regain her leadership of the world and grasp the initiative from Russia if she will proclaim anew the words of Jesus: "To set at liberty those who are oppressed."

In the third place, we need to proclaim liberty for those who are suffering from racial oppression.

Dr. James Robinson is the pastor of a large congregation of Negro people in Harlem. He was sent on a speaking trip around the world by The Board of Foreign Missions of our Church during the past year and returned with a compelling and challenging message about the rising tide of resentment against the white peoples of the world because of racial discrimination. He says that he received better treatment in other capitals in the world than he could receive in his own capital of Washington, D. C. He points out that one

of the strongest arguments the Communists are using against the United States is that there is racial discrimination in this country which prides itself on its democracy and its Christian principles of social conduct.

While great strides have been made in improving race relations in the U.S.A. the problem is far from solved, and no American should rest easily in the face of today's dangers and the threat of world Communism until he is able to say, "America can no longer be accused of unjust race discrimination." We do proclaim liberty from the oppression of race discrimination.

The fourth area in which we should proclaim liberty is that of political life.

There are political oppressions which are stifling the life of millions of people around our world. It is not necessary to mention the political oppressions in Communist states and countries, for they are well known. However, there is danger of political oppression in our own United States of America which may not be recognized by many people but which is real and imminent. It is the oppression that accompanies any totalitarian state. A few years ago, Dr. Paul Hutchinson, editor of *The Christian Century*, wrote a book which he called *The New Leviathan*, in which he warns the American people of the threat of the totalitarian state which he sees developing in

this country. In it he says: "The totalitarian Leviathan is with us and growing . . . not because men want tyranny. But men want safety. Hardly a handful of men, even in our proud and rich America, feel safe any more. It is not only safety for themselves that they seek. Much more characteristically it is safety for their homes, their children's future. . . . When the economic and political problems that lie ahead come to seem more and more difficult of solution—as they will—more and more such frightened men will come to regard the power of the state as their last hope."

Finally, there is another liberty which we are called upon to proclaim, namely, liberty from spiritual oppression.

The spiritual oppressions of mankind are those of fear, intolerance, prejudice, dogmatism, superstition, ignorance, selfishness, and hatred. It was from these oppressions that Jesus came to set men free. And he freed them with the power of his love. The whole message of the gospel of Christ may be stated in one word: liberty. It is liberty from the bondage of evil; liberty from the bondage of fear; liberty from the bondage of one's own selfish egoism.

Jesus knew that when men know him they will be free. For, said he, "You will know the truth, and the truth will make you free." It was the

truth about himself that he wanted men to know, for he said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life." The apostle Paul knew this. Said he: "For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery. . . . You were called to freedom, brethren; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be servants of one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.'" (Gal. 5: 1, 13, 14.)

It is noble to proclaim liberty. It was the mission of Jesus. It is a precious heritage which we in America cherish. But let us be reminded of the words of Goethe, who said, "That which thy fathers have bequeathed to thee, earn it anew if thou wouldst possess it."

That is the challenge and opportunity of the days ahead of us. We shall earn anew liberty from the oppressions of the mind; from economic injustices and bondage; from the slavery of racial discriminations; from political oppressions; and from spiritual bondage. For we proclaim anew and for ourselves the mission of Jesus when he said:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. . . .

He has sent me . . .

to set at liberty those who are oppressed,

to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

"FEPC Angels Over Michigan"

By SHELDON RAHN, *Director, Social Service Department,
Detroit Council of Churches, Detroit, Michigan.*

THEY'RE hovering over the capitol building in Lansing! As a matter of fact, they have been hovering since 1943. Eight states have effective fair employment practices commissions. But not Michigan—not yet.

Michigan needs FEPC. Sixty-five per cent of the job orders placed by employers with the Michigan Employment Security Commission in 1948 carried written or implied specifications saying no to Negroes and other minority citizens regardless of their skills or qualifications. With a state FEPC law and commission, that percentage will drop to thirty per cent or less in a few years.

Job discrimination is a deeply humiliating experience. Rev. Red Porter of the John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church in Detroit told this story to Councilman Kronk last autumn as an FEPC delegation met with him in Detroit's City Hall:

"Councilman, it just happens that this week one of our finest church girls came into my office crying. She has been a youth leader in our church. She finished two years of college before her savings gave out. She answered a job ad the other day. There were a lot of white girls in line getting their application

papers to fill out. When our girl stopped for hers, they said, 'Sorry, we have enough help for today.' But as she left the room she looked back. The white girls behind her were still being given forms. She came into my office with tears in her eyes. Something was wrong with the America she had studied in school."

The pressure of informed citizens for an FEPC law in Michigan is growing to major proportions. A powerful coalition of state-wide organizations is now mobilized in the Michigan Committee for Civil Rights. The honorary state chairman of MCCR is Bishop Francis J. Haas, Roman Catholic bishop for the Grand Rapids area. Until recently, the state president was Mrs. John K. Ormond, a past president of the Michigan Council of Church Women. Other officers include Boris M. Joffe, director of the Jewish Community Council of Detroit and William H. Oliver, director of the Fair Employment Practices Department, U.A.W.-C.I.O. The executive director is Mrs. Olive Beasley, also prominent in Detroit Y.W.C.A. activity.

FEPC in 1953!

Every session of the state legislature since 1943 has had an FEPC bill

on the docket. The Democratic party, a minority party in the legislature, has consistently voted for FEPC. In the January, 1952, session extensive efforts were made to interest the Republican majority in a good FEPC bill. Democratic leaders went so far as to stand aside to permit Republican legislators to take the credit for introducing an FEPC bill in a major election year. A few Republicans from districts with some Negro voters finally introduced FEPC bills, but for several weeks they were all promptly killed in committee. However, late in the 1952 session one FEPC bill did reach the House floor. On March 19, 1952, following stormy debate, the bill was defeated by a vote of 46 to 45. Every Democrat was present (except one in the hospital) and voted for the bill. Thirteen Republicans voted for the bill. Forty-six Republicans voted against the bill.

Nevertheless, this was progress. The bill got out of committee for the first time in Michigan history. Republican opposition was no longer solid. Republican support seemed to be growing, thanks chiefly to the stalwart efforts of Republican Representative Louis C. Crampton, a former circuit court judge.

At each FEPC hearing in the legislature in 1947, 1949, 1950, and 1952, a tremendous cross section of Michigan organizations has testified in support of FEPC. No opposition spokesmen have ever appeared. The

official position of all major Protestant bodies including the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has been carefully presented through the offices of the Michigan Council of Churches. Spokesmen always appear for the Roman Catholic Church, the Jewish Community Council of Detroit, the N.A.A.C.P., the Michigan State C.I.O., and many other established, non-Communist groups.

The next legislative effort will come again in January, 1953.

Free Enterprise Needs FEPC

Opposition to FEPC in Michigan comes chiefly from the Michigan Retailers Association. The Michigan Manufacturers Association has also opposed FEPC despite the fact that industrialists and businessmen in Cleveland, Minneapolis, and several FEPC states have changed their minds about FEPC and now support it.

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, for example, took the initiative in 1949 to experiment with a well-financed voluntary plan to reduce job discrimination. Following an evaluation of results, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce joined other sections of the community in framing a compulsory FEPC ordinance which was adopted in January, 1950. The president of the Cleveland Chamber, James S. Myers, has since recommended a state FEPC law for Ohio.

FEPC is not a legal coercion of the employer which forces him to do the right thing. Rather, FEPC gives the employer the legal backing he needs to handle the few trouble-makers to be found in any plant who may try to disrupt personnel relations by making a big fuss when a Negro is hired. A fair employment practices commission backed by a law specifically defining job discrimination as illegal is the best friend a good employer has.

With FEPC, the employer is protected against false reports in the community about his hiring practices. A modest percentage of the Cleveland commission cases the first year were found to be justified turn-downs. The commission told these applicants they were not discriminated against and the employer's decisions were upheld. With FEPC, the employer has an experienced human relations agency with which to consult on personnel problems where racial or cultural relations are involved.

And, with FEPC, the employer makes everyone in town feel like a real American, with a stake in our market economy and our social system. One of the most terrible results of job discrimination is the disillusionment it breeds in the hearts of minority citizens. These disillusioned and bitter citizens are the ones the Communist front groups are always flirting with. A realistic anti-Communist employer in Amer-

ica should recognize that in supporting FEPC he can deal Communism its worst blow in this country. Organized labor has just about licked the Communists in the labor movement. The major field left to Communist maneuvering is the field of discrimination in our restaurants, real estate offices, hospitals, professional associations, hotels, schools, hiring offices—yes, and our churches.

Job discrimination is inconsistent with a free enterprise system. It violates Christian idealism. It threatens our status in world affairs.

George Schermer, director of the Mayor's Interracial Committee of the City of Detroit, puts it well in two recent statements:

"Basically, most of us want to maintain an economic system that is as free, as private, as competitive and flexible as possible. Such a system, we know, must be kept free of all restrictions based on race, color, ancestry, or religion."

"Racial discrimination in Detroit is a serious problem. It hurts people. It is unjust. It can be effectively combated through a properly constructed law, properly administered."

The 253 Presbyterian churches in Michigan can help greatly to bring the angels down to earth by continuing to promote intelligent study of these civil rights problems among lay men and women, who, after all, have the ultimate political decision in their hands.

Questions and Answers

An Analysis

MEN of good will across the nation have been disturbed in recent months by a rising tide of attack on the United Nations and its related agencies. An analysis of some of the charges against the UN, some of them wild and fantastic, has been made by Thelma Stevens, Dorothy Weber, and Margaret Bender, of the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Women's Division of the Methodist Church. We are proud to have permission to present a condensed version of their report.

Question: Why do we support the United Nations?

Answer: We believe that it is government's best organized channel for building a just peace and understanding among the nations of the world. The record of its performances in these few years should make us proud. The confidence that its charter can be adjusted to meet the exigencies of a changing world order should give us hope. The future of our dreams for world peace lies not in the keeping of strident nationalisms or greedy imperialisms but rather in the will to work together for the common good and a deathless faith in the essential spiritual unity of all mankind. The United Nations is the symbol of this hope.

We in the churches expressed our interest in a world organization before it was even in the planning stages. We continued to express that interest through those of our church leaders who acted as consultants, both when the original draft of the UN Charter was drawn and later at San Francisco as the Charter took final shape. We of the churches asked for significant improvements in the Charter, particularly the creation of the Human Rights Commission and the statements in the Charter that "member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the UN, the promotion of universal respect for an observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Question: What must be interpreted as an attack on the UN?

Answer: Anything from the demand made by one organization that "we get out of the UN and get the UN off our shores" to unjustified attacks upon important parts of its program such as the Genocide Convention, the forth-

About the UN

ent Attacks

coming Human Rights conventions, or upon the work of such specialized agencies as UNESCO. Also, any action that is likely to prejudice the possibility of ratification of the UN conventions and joining new UN agencies.

Question: *Why do we see these attacks at the present time?*

Answer: They are largely dictated by fear and confusion. When we discover that peace is not so easily won as we had supposed, many are more inclined to look for a scapegoat that can be blamed than to put shoulders to the task of building peace.

Question: *Who make these attacks?*

Answer: A relatively small number of people who delight in the kind of personal prestige and power that come from "leading crusades" of this type. Most of these people are basically insecure, clearly afraid. Being adults, they must rationalize those fears and find a "devil" who can be blamed for their own personal difficulties and failures. A few such individuals presently find these "devils" in "internationalism," "world understanding," in seeing in the UN or UNESCO a threat to the nation because these groups include strangers—people of a different culture and language and religion and race.

These individuals find their support among many well-meaning people who, in times like these, lacking sufficient faith to sustain them, also turn to easy ways of feeling that they are accomplishing things by taking up these "crusades."

Question: *What can we do to meet these attacks?*

Answer: 1. Maintain a Christian attitude of patience with those who disagree with us, and a determination not to be deterred by name-calling or other attacks from support of those things which we believe to be right.

2. Establish critical standards for examining statements made and materials offered, to judge their sources and logic. Remember that material is not necessarily true just because it is printed somewhere. Keep in mind that we have great churchmen who can serve as sources on these issues. Our representatives in the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council of Churches, and the Commission of the Churches on In-

ternational Affairs of the World Council of Churches, are well informed because they have background, work constantly in the field, and are particularly conscious of the Christian point of view. It is always wise, when considering material, to check to see whether the opinion of the people who serve our churches in this field agrees with those making the attack. It is also worth-while to check on the authorities cited to see what their standing is. One particularly suspicious circumstance would be that the authority has been guilty of hate-mongering and of attacks on racial minorities.

3. Examine the materials that are offered. These things might make you wonder about them:

a. Overdependence on sentimental phrases that appeal to emotion rather than reason.

b. Use of sneering terms that are in bad taste and try to appeal to hate psychology.

c. In general, one might wonder why it is necessary to start new organizations when our towns are for the most part overorganized. New "superpatriotic" organizations would seem, therefore, unnecessary.

The Genocide Convention

The Argument—(a) The adoption of this convention will allow the UN to supplant the authority of our Government in this field. (b) American citizens could be tried in foreign courts for offenses against the

Genocide Convention committed in the United States. (c) The Genocide Convention might be interpreted to cover things not originally intended. For instance, one attack says, "In the Genocide Convention . . . there is a provision that any statement made which hurts the feelings of any group or any member of a group is not only a crime, but the jurisdiction to try a person for that crime is transferred to the judicial branch of the UN." (*Remarks of U. L. Burdick of North Dakota in the House, April 6, 1951.*)

People making such charges are misinformed. Their sources of information either have not familiarized themselves with the text or have not understood it. The above reasoning is faulty because:

(a) The convention says in Article V: "The contracting parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III." This provides for the Congress to write needed legislation on this matter, so that there can be no possible conflict with the legislative or judicial processes of the United States.

(b) The argument that people could be "dragged to foreign courts" to be tried for crimes against this convention is based on a misinter-

pretation of Article VI of the convention. This article provides that "persons charged with genocide, or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state or territory in which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those contracting parties which have accepted its jurisdiction."

This was a compromise provision put in because some countries felt that their own Governments should not have to deal with it and that they would like an international authority to do the job. There is no such international authority in existence at present and if one were found, our Congress would have to act to place us under its jurisdiction before there would be any possibility of any individual in the United States being tried by it.

(c) The only answer that needs to be made to the argument that "hurting the feelings" of people could be grounds for prosecution under the Genocide Convention is again to offer the section of the convention in which genocide is defined in detail: Article II, Section B—the phrase which is used there is not "hurting the feelings" but "causing serious bodily or mental harm." When the Genocide Convention was under consideration by the Senate subcommittee, its chairman stated that the United States Government

understands by "serious bodily or mental harm" the legal definition which in the case of genocide means actually destroying or causing disintegration of mental faculties by such means as, for example, the continued administration of large doses of heroin.

UNESCO

The attacks on UNESCO center around the charge that UNESCO is a plot to seduce the minds of our children from loyalty to the United States to world-mindedness. It is based on a series of UNESCO booklets entitled *Toward World Understanding*. A typical example is John T. Wood's repetition of the American Flag Committee's attack on UNESCO, printed in the *Congressional Record*. The charge is that UNESCO teaches disloyalty in a series of pamphlets for teachers.

1. What are the booklets and what is their purpose? The material in the three booklets with which the American Flag Committee report deals is made up of material from three seminars for teachers held by UNESCO in 1948 at three different spots in the world under the general title of "Education for a World Society." Volume V contains reports of two of the seminars held in Europe and deals with the topic "Toward World Understanding." Volume IV is the report from the third seminar, which was held in America. Volume VI contains background

material prepared by Dr. Ruth Benedict, an American anthropologist, and Mrs. A. Myrdal, a Swedish specialist in child education.

Of these publications, UNESCO has this to say: "The purpose of UNESCO seminars is to enable participants to exchange information, to discuss ideas and methods, to work out solutions to particular educational problems, and to experience living in an international community." Each pamphlet bears the statement: "This pamphlet expresses the views of the writers. It is in no way an official statement of the views of UNESCO."

The American Flag Committee report acknowledges this fact (as some other attacks on these booklets fail to do), but adds, "If this weak-kneed attempt to avoid responsibility is brought to your attention by a UNESCO apologist, tell him that one who administers poison to a nation's youth is guilty of a crime whether the prescription is official or other." This answer fails to comprehend the nature of the group that worked together in these seminars and the purpose of the seminars—the effort to help teachers as they do their part in meeting the challenge of UNESCO's purpose—"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." The "analysis" of the booklets made by the American Flag Committee fails completely to point

out that the observations made in these pages are for all the nations, not just for America. The charge in the statement, "We have quoted extensively from Volume V because it contains the most flagrant of UNESCO's anti-American propaganda and develops it most exclusively," becomes ridiculous when one sees that nowhere in this booklet is there any mention of America, American history, American geography, or anything else American. In this group report, fourteen members of the seminar, from eleven countries, were speaking of schooling as they knew it in their own countries.

Evidences of misinterpretation of this sort exist at many points in the report. For instance, it says, "Page 51 of the same work proposes an international anthem for American classrooms." Actually the quote is: "Just as every nation has its national anthem whereby the feeling of belonging to the national community is asserted, would it not be desirable for all the children of the world—and, tomorrow, all the inhabitants of the world—to have an anthem expressive of this feeling of belonging to the human community?"

2. *Teach Disloyalty to Children.* This is based largely on a miscomprehension of the term "world-mindedness." It assumes that if one becomes a good "world citizen," he must abandon citizenship in his own country. The very opposite of this

is true. The pamphlet in question, No. V, repeatedly indicates the sense of relationship between the child's own nation and other nations that makes for real patriotism as opposed to narrow nationalism. For instance, on page 37 a very fine paragraph concludes thus: "The feeling of belonging to humanity, seen in this way, is an extension of the same sentiment from the family to the local group and the nation, and finally to all nations."

3. *Corrupting the Morals of Your Children.* The report says, "Volume VI contains a series of research suggestions which indicate an intention to stimulate ultimate classroom expeditions in the field of detailed sex education."

The series of research suggestions is taken from an outline for research on child training in different countries. Prepared by Dr. Ruth Benedict, their principal intent is to provide methods of research into the methods of rearing children in European countries. Nineteen categories of information are included.

Space does not permit further quotation and refutation. The best answer, of course, is to read the booklets with a consciousness of their purpose.

Covenant on Human Rights

This attack follows much the same line as that on genocide by asserting that the convention would deprive us of our liberties, particularly of

freedom of speech and religion. Article XVIII of the covenant version, from which Senator Bricker and Representative Burdick seem to be quoting, provides specifically "that nothing in this covenant may be interpreted as limiting or derogating from any of the rights and freedoms which may be guaranteed under the laws of any contracting state or any conventions to which it is a party." A reading of the record of the meetings of the Human Rights Commission will reveal the fact that the United States has always insisted, and carried its point, upon the insertion of the so-called "Federal clause," which provides that Article XVIII "will apply equally to the laws of the various states of this country." We are therefore amply protected in this effort to preserve and defend individual rights to life and liberty as an international matter without in any way endangering our own.

It is not surprising that people become frightened by such attacks. The only answer is more information. It will prove particularly reassuring for church people to realize how closely this whole process has been watched over the years by the representatives of our churches. Church groups may well resolve to do a more intensive job of education, so that our people will not be misled by such appeals to fear in these days when we are facing increasing world responsibility.

Sanctuary

OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

Call to Worship:

"You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor."—*Ex. 20: 16.* "He has showed you, O man, what is good: and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?"—*Micah 6: 8.*

Invocation:

"Lord God Almighty, defend our land, we beseech Thee, from the secret power and the open shame of great national sins. From all dishonesty and civic corruption, from all vainglory and selfish luxury; from all cruelty and the spirit of violence; from covetousness which is idolatry; from impurity which defiles the temple of the Holy Spirit; and from intemperance which is the mother of many crimes and sorrows; good Lord, deliver and save us, and our children, and our children's children, in the land which Thou hast blessed with the light of pure religion; through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and King. Amen."—*The Book of Common Worship (Revised).*

Hymn: "O God of Earth and Altar."

"O God of earth and altar, Bow down and hear our cry;
Our earthly rulers falter, Our people drift and die;
The walls of gold entomb us, The swords of scorn divide;
Take not Thy thunder from us, But take away our pride.

"Tie in a living tether The priest and prince and thrall;
Bind all our lives together, Smite us and save us all;
In ire and exultation Aflame with faith, and free,
Lift up a living nation, A single sword to Thee."

—*From The English Hymnal. Used by permission of Oxford University Press.*

Scripture: Matthew 23: 23-37.

Pronouncement of the 164th General Assembly:

"Freedom of conscience, inquiry, and expression is being challenged and curtailed by a blinding fear of subversive forces.

"Good reputations are sometimes undermined by methods of public investigation that cast suspicion without the protection of a court trial. Men are declared unfit for positions of public trust on the basis of unsubstantiated charges that they are 'bad risks' or because they have become 'controversial personalities.' The concept of 'guilt by association' is flagrantly used to charged disloyalty in the face of the long-established American doctrine that guilt before the law is personal and cannot be imputed on the basis of relationship or association. Loyalty oaths in many cases have become forms of thought control and have failed to recognize the full implications

of false witness in dealing with vital national issues and with the loyalties of men and women in public life. Passports are sometimes denied with no reason given and no hearing granted.

"The right to fair and equal treatment by due process of law is too frequently flouted by illegal detention of suspected persons, police brutalities, and other injustices perpetrated on members of minority groups in the custody of the courts.

"We should recognize the seriousness of these denials of human rights which help to tear down the whole structure of freedom and equality in America. The unmistakable trend toward authoritarianism and thought control can be halted only by the study and action of a great body of people committed to the cause of freedom under God."

Hymn: "Once to Every Man and Nation."

"Once to every man and nation Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood, For the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, Offering each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever 'Twixt that darkness and that light.

Though the cause of evil prosper, Yet 't is truth alone is strong;
Though her portion be the scaffold, And upon the throne be wrong,
Yet that scaffold sways the future, And, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow Keeping watch above His own. Amen."

Meditation:

There is no doubt about it: Communism is a very real and present threat to the free and Christian world. Our nation, as every other outside the orbit of Communist control, must be alert to the insidious devices of unscrupulous men who seek to pervert and destroy our freedoms. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty.

But Communism is not the only menace. A more subtle and, therefore, a more sinister evil is growing like a cancer within the body of our society. It is that malaise whose virus is fear—fear of the unknown, fear of each other, fear of the minority because it is a minority, fear of any conviction that deviates from a prescribed pattern. Said Mr. Justice Jackson of the Supreme Court, "Communists are not the only faction which will put us all in mental strait jackets." *The New York Times*, after a nationwide survey, reports: "A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking college campuses . . . limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth." "Controversial personalities," "guilt by association," the indiscriminate accusation of the innocent with the guilty, suspicion cast upon those who seek the social welfare—these are the terrible symptoms of our sickness. It is the sickness of fear—a fear induced by a lack of faith: faith in God, faith in the dignity of man, faith in those concepts of democracy which are Christian. Who will be bold to stand before this menace? Who will be courageous to cleave to the right as God gives us to see the right? Who will yet abide in the judgment of our God: "You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor"? Who will measure all things by the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ? Will you?

Benediction.

—Prepared by George T. Peters, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Burlingame, Calif.

December, 1952

Christian ACTION

FOURTH BIRTHDAY PARTY

On December 10 in many of the sixty member nations of the United Nations there will be observances of the fourth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In four swiftly passing years there have been marked advances everywhere in the world struggle for freedom. SOCIAL PROGRESS readers can play a significant part in this world-wide observance of human rights by engaging in at least one of these activities of Human Rights Day:

1. **Pray for the statesmen** of the world who are working to complete the Covenant of Human Rights, for the agencies of the United Nations, and for our Christian missionaries around the world, who are seeking to stamp out injustice, poverty, fear.

2. **Read at least two** of the recommended mission study books for 1953. *These Rights We Hold*, by Fred L. Brownlee, the study book for "Home Missions and Human Rights," the National Missions theme, and *African Heritage*, by Emory Ross, the Foreign Missions theme, "Africa." (See "About Books," page 31.)

It is impossible to do justice to either of these major themes without recognizing at once the intimate correlation between the social responsibilities and commitments of Christians and the missionary and evangelical outreach of the churches. Social education and action and evangelism are but two sides of the same coin.

3. **Discuss these books** and other recommended materials with your friends and in the organizations of your church.

4. **Learn at least one** new fact about

the United Nations and its program to guarantee human rights. For instance, the Charter of the United Nations stresses the right of individuals to basic human freedoms "without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." To promote and to work to secure these rights, a twelve-man subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities was appointed in June, 1946. In the last session of this subcommission it recommended setting up machinery to enable minority groups that are the victims of oppression and injustice to bring their complaints directly to the United Nations. At present the procedure is for grievances to be registered only through Governments.

5. **Launch an all-church study** of "Home Missions and Human Rights" with a Church Family Night Dinner.

The world's favorite recipes are published in a new United Nations recipe book, edited by the American Home Economics Association, published by Harper & Brothers.

Nearly every one of the sixty member countries of the United Nations is represented in this recipe book, thus bringing American families close to the daily life of the families of other nations. Families in your church can be introduced to the world's favorite recipes if your Church Family Night Dinner features Polish borsch, Australian veal and ham pie, avocado and pineapple salad from Cuba, and flowing walnut pudding from China, or any other delectable combination of dishes from other lands.

Sing some of the "Little Songs About the UN" at the dinner table. Show the United Nations film *Of Human Rights*,

described on the inside back cover.

Use the quiz or the panel discussion outlined in the following sections.

What's your UN-Q?

Try this United Nations quiz in your church to spark interest in world affairs and the work of the United Nations. It can be used with large or small groups, at church family dinners, as an "ice breaker" at informal gatherings, or as an introduction to more serious study and discussion with young adults, in men's groups, women's associations, and circle meetings.

Mimeograph copies of these true and false statements, or make up your own quiz.

1. Over forty UN member countries and four nonmember countries have offered assistance in the Korean war. T— F—
2. The International Children's Emergency Fund, which aids needy children, has provided food and milk for more than 7,000,000 children and has vaccinated more than 14,000,000 against tuberculosis and diphtheria. T— F—
3. The Convention on Genocide, which would prevent the killing of whole groups of people because of their religion, race, nationality, or ethnic origin, is a threat to American liberties. T— F—
4. The United Nations with its Specialized Agencies has aided sixty-seven countries with its international program of technical assistance. T— F—
5. The World Health Organization reduced deaths from malaria in Greece from 2,000,000 in 1942 to 50,000 in 1949. T— F—
6. Because of basic disagreements between the United States and the U.S.S.R., work for the control and reduction of armaments by the UN has been deadlocked. T— F—
7. A new disarmament commission was created by the General Assembly early in 1952 to continue active exploration of control of armaments including atomic energy. T— F—

8. Under the International Trusteeship System, the UN tries to prevent colonial people from achieving their independence. T— F—

9. The International Court of Justice, which decides and advises on disputes submitted to it, is considering a case brought against the United States by France over the rights of United States nationals in Morocco. T— F—

10. A recent public-opinion survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center indicated that 85 per cent of the people in the U.S. felt that we should not continue to belong to the UN. T— F—

11. Among the five official delegates that the United States sends to the General Assembly, two are Senators in even years and two are Representatives in the odd years. T— F—

12. A recent provision for UN procedure rules that no member nation shall pay more than one third of the expenses of any UN agency. T— F—

—From The National Citizens' Committee for United Nations Day. *Used by permission.*

(See page 29 for the answers)

Missions and Social Action—A Panel

Present a panel of social education and action and missionary education leaders.

Here are points to emphasize to show the relation of Christian witness and social re-

sponsibility to missionary outreach. Here are points to emphasize by panel participants:

1. **The world-wide mission** of the churches must be undergirded by prayer, stewardship, service, and the efforts of informed Christian citizens to support statesmanlike foreign and domestic policy. Thus our mission study of Africa should go hand in hand with study of our foreign policies in the Near East and Africa, and with steps to inform our representatives in Congress and officials in our national Government and in the United States delegation to the United Nations, which will support the peoples of Africa who are struggling to be free.

2. **American churches cannot** conscientiously study Africa without studying also what the United Nations is doing for human freedoms in Africa—in the Trusteeship Council. Many of the areas where Christian missionaries are at work—in the Cameroons, Congoland, Somaliland—are trust territories, wards of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. This organ of the UN works to promote the welfare of non-self-governing peoples and helps them to raise their standards of living and achieve political, economic, social, and educational advancement. It also guides them in the development of self-government, so that they may become free, independent nations.

3. **Technical assistance** for the one and a half billion people—two thirds of the human race—who live in economically underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is an urgent problem. What can the United Nations, through its technical assistance program, and our own United States, do to relieve the world of its depression and misery and bring hope, and health, and happiness to people who have suffered so long?

Twenty million people starved last year; almost two thirds of the world's population never have enough to eat. The story of the world's hunger seems almost unbelievable

to people in the United States, where one sixth of the world's population produces fifty per cent of the world's wealth.

4. **Present work of** such specialized agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization, which is studying the problems of food—its production and distribution—and experimenting with new ways of increasing mankind's food supply and use of the good earth and its resources. The earth is rich. It can feed its population if mankind can co-operate to step up the total food supply available and make better distribution of it. This requires an attack on many fronts—better farming methods, more care in the management of animals, more use of the world's fisheries, and more scientific forestry. It also calls for conservation of the world's dwindling water supply, fuller study of the nutritional values of foods, better education and conditions of rural workers, better understanding of the economics of food production. Consider also UNESCO's struggle against ignorance and its effort to replace ignorance with knowledge and understanding. This is a specialized agency set up to encourage nations to work side by side, through education, science, and cultural exchanges to extend knowledge and lay the foundations for universal freedom, justice, and peace. In the United States the illiteracy rate is 3 per cent, in India it is 91 per cent, in Korea, 69 per cent. In underdeveloped parts of the world, in Africa, for instance, four fifths of the people are illiterate. UNESCO fights ignorance through the world by teaching people how to read. Dr. Laubach, the great Christian missionary, has been a co-worker in UNESCO's campaign against ignorance, and his own systems of learning have been utilized by this UN agency. Even his slogan, "Each One Teach One," has been a part of UNESCO's campaign of spreading knowledge and helping education to flourish everywhere. American missionaries have taught the technicians of the world to share and adapt their skills to the

needs of the people with whom they work. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has repeatedly stressed the importance of the technical assistance program of the United Nations.

5. Churches can help to recruit the technicians needed to work on UN missions and counsel young people with Christian commitment and compassionate concern to enter this field of missionary endeavor.

6. Present illustrations from Jesus' teaching about God's sovereignty and Fatherhood. Our acceptance of and commitment to the principles of love that Christ gave the world have to be expressed in specific terms—fair employment practices, elimination of segregation in the schools, decent housing for all families.

7. Study the implications of Resolution S.J. 130, introduced on February 7, 1952, by Senator Bricker of Ohio, in co-operation with fifty-eight other Senators. This proposes an amendment to the United States Constitution which would drastically restrict the American Senate in making international commitments of any kind and would endanger any relationship that we have to the conventions proposed by the United Nations.

Be sure to emphasize the points about the International Covenant on Human Rights raised by Dr. Frederick Nolde, official observer to the United Nations for the World Council of Churches. See Dr. Nolde's address at the 164th General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Dr. Nolde reminds us that throughout our American history we have been concerned that the freedom which we enjoy shall be

the privilege of free men everywhere.

The entire structure of the UN is concerned with basic human rights, but it is the Commission on Human Rights that is primarily charged with working out specific ways to guarantee civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights.

Criticisms in the United States are claiming that by participation in these covenants the United States would reduce some of its sovereignty and independence. These critical attitudes threaten to obstruct the leadership of the United States in the Commission on Human Rights and the contribution of our nation to the peace of the world through the United Nations.

Dr. Nolde and other international experts assure us that the international covenant now being proposed will not restrict or curtail the rights that we now enjoy in the United States. Any question that it might do so has arisen from "untenable and almost ludicrous misinterpretation of the covenant."

In summarizing, the panel might emphasize these points:

1. The dignity and worth of man in God's sight.

2. Our moral obligation as Christians to secure and safeguard human freedoms and human rights for all men everywhere.

3. Our discipleship to Christ requires that we investigate all infringements upon basic human rights in our communities and neighborhoods.

4. Our responsibility as Christians to work for a world in which every child and young person may be free to be the kind of person God wants him to be.

—Margaret E. Kuhn

THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY OPENS

Delegates from sixty member nations met in the seventh General Assembly of the United Nations on October 14 for the first time in its own home—the world capital building.

The opening meeting was very impres-

sive. First, there were the moments of silence for prayer and meditation. Then the temporary chairman, Padilla Nervo, of Mexico, the outgoing President, called the Assembly to order. Lester B. Pearson of Canada, a well-known figure in the U N,

was elected President. Mayor Impellitteri welcomed the group and wished them success in a hard task. Referring to the magnificent new home, he said, "It is our belief that future historians will record that from this site emanated the wisdom and concord that brought peace and happiness to a troubled world."

Ambassador Warren Austin described the new home as a "noble capital for universal peace" and paid tribute to all the people who had made contributions to these buildings. "In these headquarters of the UN there are combined stone, wood, metal, glass, textiles, with the elements of the human heritage which the Charter promotes. To craftsmanship, we will add statesmanship in this Capital of Peace."

Members of the U.S. delegation include Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, Ambassador Warren R. Austin, Senators Alexander Wiley (Wis.) and Theodore Green (R. I.), Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and alternates Ernest Gross, Mrs. Edith Sampson, Benjamin Cohen, Philip C. Jessup.

There are seventy items on the agenda; a heavy schedule is prescribed for the next weeks. The strain will be great but all recognize that steady progress has been made during the first seven years and that mankind is expecting continued progress. Among the items for discussion are Korea; membership—how soon it can become universal; rights of minorities; further steps toward control and reduction of armaments, new and better plans for technical assistance, economic improvement, social betterment; reports from the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council including progress on the Covenant on Human Rights; political rights for women.

Not only the steadfastness of the men and women representative of their countries, but the support of the peoples around the world for whom they speak will determine the gains or losses in this Assembly and whether the United Nations is here to stay.

—*Mabel Head, Observer at the United Nations.*

★ *Citizenship* ★

X The tumult and the shouting have died and a momentous Presidential campaign has become history. One of the bitterest contests on record, it failed to justify earlier hopes that it would be fought out on the issues. The result was clearly a personal triumph for General Eisenhower, rather than for his party, and was a distinct repudiation of the present Administration.

It would seem that only the brilliance of Governor Stevenson saved the Democratic Party from a more shattering defeat. His intellectual approach to the issues, his exquisite prose, his refusal to compromise on matters such as tidelands oil and civil rights made him a figure unmatched in our national life for many a year. But, in the words of Howard K. Smith, "He carried too great a weight to win this race."

It will be surprising if some future ballot does not find his name again heading the list. His total of 26,600,000 votes as a defeated candidate is more than any winner has ever had, with the exception of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and 1940.

Disproving two popular theories, that a heavy vote favors the Democrats and that no Administration is thrown out of power when "times are good," a record-breaking number of voters went to the polls. They gave General Eisenhower the largest popular vote ever given a Presidential candidate, something in excess of 33,000,000 votes. At press time, with some 4,000 polling places still to be counted, the total vote cast was just under 60,000,000. This represents about 61 per cent of the adult population and about 80 per cent of the registered voters. The latter figure is under the

previous record of 1940 when 82 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls, but 61 per cent of the adult population voting sets a record this year over the 59 per cent figure of 1940. Also, this year for the first time, women outnumbered men in the number of registered voters. They represented 52 per cent of those eligible to cast ballots.

The electoral sweep for Eisenhower punctured the normally Democratic South, carrying off three Southern and four border states usually found in that column. There seems no valid reason, however, for interpreting this as the beginning of a two-party system in the area. Victory was not attained by the Republican Party as such, but under the banner of "Democrats for Eisenhower" or "Citizens for Eisenhower," and in practically all instances Democratic state and Congressional candidates were elected by about the same margin. In other words the states went Democratic with the exception of the vote for the Presidential candidate. Out of 73 Congressional seats in the states giving their votes to Eisenhower only 14 will be Republican in the new Congress, just 3 more than were held by the Republicans in the last Congress. This is exactly the same number that was carried along in 1928 when the South "broke ranks" and the Congressional elections two years later found them back in the "fold."

On the basis of the evidence to date there is little to substantiate the claim for a rejuvenated Republican Party in the South. In the words of an influential Southern newspaper: "It was not a triumph for the Republican Party, as such, but a smashing rebuke to the present national leaders of the Democratic Party. The voters overwhelmingly repudiated 'Trumanism.'"

Democratic losses in Northern and Western states may serve to increase the influence of Southern Democrats in the national party, especially since they will be,

in all probability, an influential majority in their party in Congress.

As we go to press, the latest returns indicate the Republicans in bare control of the House, with 221 seats to 213 for the Democrats and 1 Independent. In the Senate, the line-up will be 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats, and 1 Independent. This will leave the deciding vote to the Vice-President in many instances if Senator Morse, the Independent, votes with the Democrats as he is expected to do.

With Republicans in control of both Houses, nominal though it may be, committees will be reshuffled to give them a majority of the members as well as the chairmanship of each group (October issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS). The two key men, who will play a large part in determining what legislation reaches the floor, will be Speaker of the House, Rep. Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate. Rep. Charles Halleck of Indiana is expected to be floor leader for the Republicans in the House, and majority leader in the Senate will probably be either Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts or Senator Knowland of California.

As a final commentary on this historic 1952 Presidential election the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt at Portland, Maine, in 1932 seem especially appropriate: "For one reason or another, even a wisely led political party, if given a long enough tenure of office, fails to express the will of the people and ceases to be an effective instrument of government. It is far better for such a political party and for the state if it is relegated to the role of a critic and that the opposing party should take over the reins of government."

Answers to Quiz on p. 25

1-True, 2-True, 3-False, 4-True, 5-True, 6-True, 7-True, 8-False, 9-True, 10-False, 11-True, 12-True.

About Books

The Irony of American History, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

The American people are indeed confident in their virtue, and clearly recognize the need for defending freedom against the forces of tyranny and injustice. To defend freedom is good; but in our day that defense involves our becoming masters of frightfulness and keeping ahead in production and development of atomic bombs. There is a deep irony in such a position.

We dream of a better world; yet our dreams have little relevance to the immediate situation. Dreams are good to have, but what irony in holding such dreams in times like these! As a nation apart from the rest of the world we thought God would make a new beginning here. Now we are a nation with power in the world, and the demand is for the application of power on global terms. We have not faced up. There is irony in our innocence.

We believe in individual freedom and uniqueness; but the social forms of a technical society tend to obscure the individual's freedom and uniqueness. Great cities make impossible genuine community. Here is America saying that the individual counts, and here are thousands of young men dying in mass slaughter on the battlefield. It is an ironic situation. So if we have illusions, we should recognize that others have them too. Our statesmen have steered a course that has given a minimal hope of avoiding global conflict. We hope for rational solutions, but are involved in tensions and world conflict which release collective emotions.

One can go on and on in the development of irony, and Reinhold Niebuhr does

just that in his book. Sometimes his colossal phrases and verbiage cause one to stumble, and to fight with some particular paragraph, but underneath is real meat, and most of us have learned to struggle through with Niebuhr.

But what is the significance of irony? It is not easy to detect the irony in life when one is a participant. Yet in a degree, individuals may transcend the vicissitudes of their nations and communities. We need to know our own weakness and limitations. Christian faith tends to carry us beyond the limits of irony—through its doctrine of redemption from evil. Christianity gives us a unique conception of freedom. Evil in history results from wrong use by man of his unique capacities. Man may forget he is not simply a creator but also a creature. In the Bible view man has dominion over nature, and is to make natural forces serve human ends. Destructiveness is not the necessary consequence of human creativity. The Bible view is ironic.

One wishes Niebuhr could write more simply and yet the reader willing to work through will find some sound large-scale thinking about life. The liberal may hunger for a little surer feel of the Kingdom inbreaking in this world, within us and among us, and of the potentials of fulfillment in these occasional white hours of peace in which we feel we walk with God.

—John A. Gardner

How to Understand Propaganda, by Alfred McClung Lee. Rinehart & Company, Inc. \$4.00.

In the light of the pronouncements of the 164th General Assembly dealing with the Church's concern for the wise use of mass media, the Department of Social Edu-

cation and Action recommends a careful reading of this book.

"The struggle for your mind has now entered a new high level of pressure." Dr. Lee here presents an original theory of propaganda, social action, and public opinion and their interrelationships that shows how present-day propaganda can be adapted to the democratic way of life.

The author's background in politics, newspaper work, and public opinion research equips him to answer such questions as:

How is society manipulated? What can the individual do to escape the mass hysterias created by propagandists? What are the strengths and weaknesses of public opinion polls? These are only a few of the problems discussed in the book.

Defense of Freedom, by the Editors of *La Prensa*. The John Day Company. \$4.00.

In *La Prensa's* first eighty-one years, it became not only the leading newspaper of Buenos Aires but the greatest Spanish-language newspaper in the world. When a mob stopped its presses in January, 1951, the world was shocked into disbelief—a totalitarian regime as ruthless as Europe's was at work in America.

Here for the first time the editors of *La Prensa* tell the story of what the paper went through beginning in 1940, when the Government of a hitherto democratic country began to lean the other way. In March, 1951, a congressional investigating committee found *La Prensa* guilty of disloyalty to the state and of criminal conduct in labor relations and pushed through a bill in the Peronist congress expropriating the property.

Full details are given of the acts of official terrorism during this decade that finally led to the death of the paper.

In the words of the Editors, "Freedom always wins the last battle, and great injustices have never endured." The story provides a strong lesson for the free world.

African Heritage, by Emory Ross. Friendship Press. \$2.00.

No better person could have been chosen to write the foreign mission study for this year than Dr. Emory Ross. He not only spent many years as a missionary in Africa but has since made visits to that continent. As director of the Africa Committee of the National Council of Churches, he planned and largely executed the significant North American Conference on African Affairs held in June, 1952.

The author vividly portrays the forces converging upon Africa: traders looking for profit; hunters, for trophies; scientists, for new knowledge; settlers, for home sites; Governments, for power.

Forces struggling for the minds of Africa he depicts as "Animist communalism—Stalinist communism—Christianity." One hundred and fifty million people are struggling for new life, are claiming human rights and a real share in the policies that shape their destiny. The first two chapters present a sympathetic analysis of what is happening in the minds and lives of Africans in this period of rapid change, and of how the building of a Christian community is affected by the African's concept of Mother Earth.

His analysis of Communist infiltration is pictured along with the practical demonstration of the Christian community at work in many parts of the continent.

Dr. Ross is convinced that a strong, free church is Africa's basic need and that North America has great responsibility for its establishment. Clearly, he calls for the exercise of right political and economic measures and the employment of technology and know-how as essential elements in any Christian community.

The book is a timely challenge to better understanding of our African neighbors; to our practices at home; to truer cooperation in building the new Africa; to a great advance in the program of the Christian Church.

—Mabel Head

These Rights We Hold, by Fred L. Brownlee. Friendship Press. \$2.00.

When the fundamental issues of human rights cry out each day from newspaper headlines, it is rewarding to find a book like Dr. Brownlee's, which takes up the whole human rights question from the viewpoint of its historical development. For, as he sees it, the concept of the inalienable rights of human beings sprang not principally from political or social struggles but rather from the gradual growth of a religious idea, which first manifested itself in the Old Testament and was then carried forward in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

Taking the question back to its beginnings, Dr. Brownlee discusses the idea of fundamental justice and human rights as it was embodied in the teachings of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. He then carries its development through the teachings of the New Testament and the beginnings of the Christian Church.

Dr. Brownlee takes the reader through several key areas of social development in which the churches played an increasingly important role—such as the movement toward the establishment of free public schools; the growth of mission schools for minority groups; the support by church bodies for just labor legislation; their role in arbitrating management-labor problems; and the great work done by home missions groups in the field of race relations.

Both in his introduction and in a later passage, Dr. Brownlee points out that it is not only important that human beings be freed from the denial of their rights, but perhaps more important that they be freed to their full capacities as members of the brotherhood of man. The struggle for growth is intertwined with the struggle for human rights, and it is in this respect, he claims, that the churches have their ultimate responsibility. For human rights will yield little satisfaction without their

final expression in the achievement of a truly Christian personality.

The Jews in the Soviet Union, by Solomon M. Schwarz. Syracuse University Press. \$5.00.

With this volume the Library of Jewish Information of the American Jewish Committee completes the first half of a study, begun in 1948, of the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union and its European satellite countries. The aim has been to obtain the first organized body of knowledge, based on critical examination of all available sources, on the Communist attitude toward Jewish problems and the effect of the Soviet system on Jewish life.

We have been led to believe by Communist leaders that an end has been made by the Soviet Government to all policies of persecution of religious, racial, and national minorities. Especially have they claimed to have extirpated the very roots of anti-Semitism and racial prejudice, and to have solved the age-old Jewish problem.

This volume by Dr. Schwarz reveals the opposite to be true. He is an authority on Soviet Russian affairs and one of the best equipped in the field of research scholars. He documents the liquidation of all independent Jewish organizations and institutions, and the complete destruction of Jewish communal life. The Yiddish press has been abolished; the Yiddish schools have been closed. Zionist activities have been banned, and no Jews can receive exit permits for emigration to Israel. The younger generation has been educated to abhor the religion of their fathers.

The experience of minority groups under Soviet dictatorship has made it clear that there can be no freedom for them under a totalitarian dictatorship. Only where the freedom of the individual is securely established, where the Government can be criticized and changed by the people can there be, in the long run, security for religious, social, or national minorities.

—William H. McConaghy

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Concerning Our Public Schools

WE BELIEVE deeply in the American tradition of grass-roots administration for our public schools. To have our school affairs largely in the hands of local school boards continues to be a sound, democratic principle.

This is a tense and fearful time, however—an era of great social change when the issues are complicated and the clues to what really is happening are hard to discern. Local leaders in a great many communities are making unwise, and often un-American, decisions about school curriculums, teachers, and textbooks. Stampeded by well-meaning but uninformed persons, many school boards are becoming aroused over books they haven't read, educational philosophies they have not analyzed, ideas about history and economics they don't understand.

There is real danger that this American pattern of local administration in public education may *subvert* our free schools. Our churches need to be extraordinarily alert in discovering what is happening in the schools of their communities, and aggressive in supporting our tradition of classroom freedom. Our stake is large. There is something hauntingly similar between freedom in the classroom and freedom in the pulpit.

Church and Economic Life Week

WHY We Work—And How," a consideration of occupational goals and practices of Christians, is the proposed theme for the annual observance of Church and Economic Life Week, January 18-24, 1953. The National Council of Churches, through its Department of the Church and Economic Life, calls for the week to be recognized and observed in churches and communities.

The theme is keyed to the emphasis of the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work, held last February in Buffalo, New York. A useful program guide for the week, in the form of an eight-page leaflet, is available in quantity without charge from the National Council of Churches.



A unique suggestion for the observance of Church and Economic Life Week has been made by the Department of the Church and Economic Life. It is recommended (a) that sermons on various aspects of the Christian meaning of work for today's world be preached in several churches in a community on Sunday, January 18; (b) that these sermons be collected through the efforts of an interested minister, a committee from the ministerium, or a council of churches secretary; and (c) that these sermons be made the basis for a series of articles appearing daily throughout the week in a local newspaper; or (d) that these sermons be used in a radio program or a series of programs over a local station using the ministers of a community or, better still, a panel of ministers and laymen. Resource materials, available from the Department of the Church and Economic Life, 297 Fourth Ave., New York City 10, are listed on page 32.

Counseling Committee Meets

A HISTORIC meeting of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action was held in the Witherspoon Building in Philadelphia on Tuesday, November 18, 1952, with seventeen of the twenty members attending.

The committee welcomed three new members elected by the last General Assembly, reviewed its assignment, studied a report dealing with the process by which the General Assembly formulates its social pronouncements, discussed its relationships with the Boards of the Church, commended the establishment by the Stated Clerk of the new Presbyterian Service Committee for Religious Objectors, appointed a subcommittee to prepare recommendations for the Social Education and Action Standing Committee of the 1953 General Assembly, appointed a subcommittee to make arrangements for the Sunday afternoon Popular Meeting during the next General Assembly meeting, considered proposals for co-operative projects with the Council on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

A visitor at the meeting was Dr. Malcolm Calhoun, of Atlanta, Georgia, the Secretary for Christian Relations in the Southern Church. Plans were made for a joint meeting with the Council on Christian Relations in February.

The Counseling Committee is composed of twenty members selected as follows: six from the Board of Christian Education, three from the Board of National Missions, two from The Board of Foreign Missions, one from the

National Council of Presbyterian Women's Organizations, one from the National Council of Presbyterian Men, and seven non-Board and non-agency representatives from the Church-at-large. Dr. George Peters, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Burlingame, California, and a member of the Board of Christian Education, is chairman of the committee.

Memo for Ministers

Now is the time to order material for Brotherhood Month and Race Relations Sunday, which falls this year on February 8, 1953. A splendid packet of resource materials may be purchased through the Presbyterian Distribution Service for 15 cents.

I believe many ministers will want to read Stringfellow Barr's new book, *Citizens of the World*, published November 11, 1952, by Doubleday. The price is \$3.00. The book is an elaboration of the thesis developed by Mr. Barr in his famous pamphlet, *Let's Join the Human Race*. We shall have more to say about Mr. Barr's book in future issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Invitation to Washington

YOUR Government and You" will be the theme of a Churchmen's Seminar in Washington, D. C., February 24-27, 1953. The seminar is sponsored by the Department of Social Education and Action jointly with the social action groups of a number of other denominations, working through the Washington office of the National Council of Churches.

A strong program, utilizing the best available leaders and speakers, is being planned. Among the subjects for the plenary sessions are the religious motivation for political concern, an analysis of major political issues of today, how government functions, U. S. foreign policy and international security, immigration policies and plans, vital domestic issues, and how Christians can influence national policy.

The agenda for the four days will include visits to important government offices and departments, attendance at sessions of Congress and Congressional hearings, interviews with members of the House and Senate, and seminars on current public problems.

Attendance will be strictly limited to two hundred. Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS who wish to attend should communicate at once with the Department of Social Education and Action in Philadelphia.

A seminary professor who attended a similar seminar last year says, "No minister's training is complete until he has attended a Churchmen's Conference in Washington."

Preview

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS features two articles that deal with the needs and problems of our public schools—"Changing Needs of Our Schools," adapted from *Information Service*, published by the National Council of Churches, and "We Struggle and Hope," by Vilma Frasher, who recounts the Los Angeles fracas over the use of UNESCO publications in the schools. These articles are related to a program feature in the January-March, 1953, issue of *Crossroads*, the curriculum magazine for adults. *Crossroads* presents an important article by Carey McWilliams on "The Public Schools Need Our Support," together with program suggestions for using this subject in an adult group. The SOCIAL PROGRESS articles are additional resource material.

We are proud to present an article by Dr. Liston Pope, dean of the Divinity School of Yale University. His article, "Does Faith Impair Freedom?" is adapted from an address he delivered at the recent Centennial Celebration of Coe College.

We also present an article on problems facing social education and action committees of our presbyteries. This is the third in a series, the first two articles having appeared in September and November, 1952.

The excellent "Sanctuary" pages were prepared by Rev. O'Linn McGuire, minister of the Southridge Presbyterian Church in Kansas City, Kansas, and chairman of the Topeka-Highland Presbytery Committee on Social Education and Action. "Sanctuary" in this issue is tied to the school theme and the author's own experience.

We urge your attention to the splendid "Christian Action" pages prepared by Margaret Kuhn, and another report from the United Nations by our observer, Mabel Head. In the "Citizenship" section Helen Lineweaver presents excerpts from an address delivered in late October by one of the most eminent jurists of our day, Judge Learned Hand, retired Chief Judge of the Second Federal Circuit Court of Appeals.

—Clifford Earle

Does Faith Impair Freedom?

By LISTON POPE, *Dean of the Divinity School, Yale University. Adapted from a talk delivered in connection with the Centennial Celebration of Coe College. Reprinted from The Saturday Review. Used by permission.*

THE Liberty Bell in Philadelphia has engraved on its side a verse from the book of Leviticus: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Over the portals of the Town Hall in New York City is inscribed a statement of Jesus recorded in The Gospel According to Saint John: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

The contrast between these Biblical inscriptions poses sharply the central questions with regard to freedom, whether those questions be approached from a religious, philosophical, or practical standpoint. Is liberty to be proclaimed simply in its own name? Is it invested with its own ultimate authority? In philosophical terms, is freedom in itself a first principle, a metaphysical absolute depending on nothing beyond itself? In practical terms, what is the relation of freedom to responsibility, and of liberty to order? In religious terms, what is the relation of man's freedom to God's overarching power? Can freedom be preserved only within some established order of truth?

Religion has exhibited extraordi-

nary variety in its long history. But it has almost universally attempted to relate man to an ultimate reality regarded as the final truth and as possessed of superhuman power. Accordingly, man's freedom has always been viewed and limited in the light of his responsibility to this ultimate power.

Christianity has often acted as an enemy of freedom. The Inquisition, confident that it knew the truth with theological exactness, defended it against freedom of belief and expression by secret hearings, the torture of witnesses, the condemnation and burning of books, and, on occasion, death by hanging or burning at the stake.

The Church in ages past has placed a restraining hand on economic and political activities. For centuries it maintained a ban on the taking or giving of interest and was suspicious and often deprecatory of economic activities in general. In politics the Church has frequently imposed its own rule in secular as well as in ecclesiastical affairs.

This picture of religious authoritarianism is not entirely unrelieved.

Whatever the preponderant tendencies may have been, it is a distortion of history to assert that religion has characteristically been an enemy of human freedom. Whenever an ecclesiastical system has become seriously oppressive, a contrary religious movement has appeared to liberalize or to oppose the dominant hierarchy. The rise of the zealots within Judaism, of the Bahais within Mohammedanism, of the monastic orders within Roman Catholicism, and of the Protestant Reformation all testify to this tendency.

Protestantism has been associated more closely with the complex of modern movements that emphasize freedom, such as individualism, democracy, nationalism, and capitalism. From that fact Protestantism derives its congeniality to the modern period and also its essential weakness in the face of authoritarian religious and political regimes. It should not be concluded that Protestantism has always been on the side of liberty, or that Catholicism has always supported regimentation.

Religious bodies have not been alone in the restriction of liberty in the service of truth. A great many so-called secular philosophies have led to the same result. Plato, in single-minded devotion to truth, proposes for his ideal republic a strict censorship of mental and spiritual activities. He goes so far as to re-

quire a list of authorized bedtime stories for children and to prohibit certain types of music and musical instruments. For him, truth alone has the right to be heard, and freedom to be in error is an intolerable doctrine.

In our own time, intellectual and social systems that claim truth most confidently have curtailed freedom most conspicuously. This was true of Fascism; it is also true, with some differences, of Communism. Despite its apparent relativism, Communism equates truth with its own system and tolerates no deviations therefrom. Nation after nation in Eastern Europe and in Asia has seen free institutions fall before Communist discipline controlled by Stalinist dogma.

Warned by examples from the past, modern democratic culture has placed primary emphasis on freedom and has assumed that truth would automatically be served. It has been taken for granted that liberated minds and spirits would devote themselves to the quest for the truth about the universe and about man's life on the earth, and that progress in knowledge and in social organization would necessarily result.

As Carl Becker pointed out, "The eighteenth century was the moment in history when men experienced the first flush and freshness of the idea that man is master of his own fate." The contents of the American Bill of Rights reveal that government was

regarded as the chief danger to individual liberty. Men were to be freed from ignorance, and the American public-school system was just around the corner.

The great emphasis was and has been on freedom from restraint. At best, great adventures of the human mind and spirit have followed—the remarkable flowering of science, creative work in the arts, new variations in religious experience, and political experiments in democracy.

At its worst, modern freedom has issued not simply in freedom from restraint but also in freedom from responsibility. Science, which has traditionally assumed that it was not responsible for the utilization of its discoveries, has now created the atom bomb and has been forced into a re-examination of its own responsibilities. Can science be neutral when its own discoveries threaten to destroy mankind? The human mind, free to produce atomic fission, appears unable to produce human unity, because unity requires responsibility to something beyond our own freedom.

Many of our democratic institutions continue to pride themselves primarily on their freedom rather than on their responsibility to truth or to mankind. Furious controversies can be aroused within a university over issues of academic freedom, but failures to extend knowledge and to

teach truth are sometimes tolerated as being part of the price of freedom. Indeed, emphasis on freedom by its very nature encourages skepticism about truth; it encourages tentativeness rather than commitment or conviction, so that truth becomes a working hypothesis and freedom becomes very truth.

Freedom is an indispensable prerequisite to the advancement of knowledge. It has not been demonstrated, however, that it will automatically lead to truth, or even preserve it. Probably liberty has been used to ignore or to distort truth as often as to discover or to defend it.

In individual life personal freedom may lead to a higher integration of life than exterior conditioning or constraint could possibly achieve. Or it may lead to personal disintegration, to failure to be "true," even to oneself.

In politics overemphasis on liberty has led to excessive nationalism, under the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Nationalism is true to some of the facts of a broken world, but it is not true to the facts of mutual dependence on each other.

In economics emphasis on extreme freedom has obscured this aim.

In religion freedom has been guarded so jealously that the religious community is split into innumerable contentious sects.

In nearly every realm of modern democratic life liberty has tended to run riot and the restraining bonds of

order and of truth often have been ignored or broken. Freedom of speech is often twisted into freedom to tell lies publicly, as in much contemporary advertising and political campaigning. Freedom of the press, while taken seriously as a responsibility by a few publications, appears more often to be used as an excuse for slanting the news and for suppression of the facts. Freedom of assembly is a sheltering arm for serious and loyal citizens; it also serves as a refuge for cliques and cliques that are cynical about responsibility and seek only to exert power. Congressional immunity, which amounts to freedom from reprisal, protects the genuine servant of the people; it also shields misrepresentation and distortion of the worst sort.

All these freedoms are precious in themselves. They become pernicious only when divorced from responsibility to the service of one's fellows in the light of truth.

In revolt against the excessive individualism and relativism to which unbridled emphasis on liberty has led, large sections of the world have swung back to an overemphasis on order, sacrificing freedom before the altar of conformity. This reaction is a central feature of Fascism and Communism.

The United States, recognizing that it is not only the strongest but also one of the last outposts of liberty, has become obsessed recently

with the quest for the roots of freedom and with the struggle for its extension and its defense against Russia. But this struggle is defined in rather peculiar ways. To judge from advertisements, freedom is assured if one is able to afford a washing machine or to buy a Buick or to invest money in lucrative securities.

We must learn again that freedom is never simply a negative thing, the absence of restraint. Enduring freedom must rely more deeply on positive loyalty to objects that are worthy of the loyalty of free men.

A freedom that consists only of the right to choose as one pleases soon creates its own bondage, because today's choices weld chains around tomorrow's decisions. Freedom of choice always results in bondage to something, or else in sheer anarchy. Every act of freedom must be exercised within some framework of loyalty lest it become at last meaningless and self-defeating; the direction of the free spirit is necessarily determined by the object or objects of its loyalty.

David Lilienthal has written that "freedom in America rests on more intangible but more enduring foundations than a particular form of economic enterprise or of political procedure. It rests on moral and spiritual foundations." Could he have meant the same thing Jesus meant when he said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"?

Changing Needs of Our Schools

Adapted from Information Service, National Council of Churches, November 1, 1952. Used by permission.

“Help Wanted: Large national enterprise needs partners prepared to invest their time and thought. This enterprise operates in every section of the nation, has one million employees, serves thirty million clients. Product is essential to national security. Plans are ready now for needed expansion of plant and modernization of program. Generous compensation and guaranteed dividends, payable on demand in the currency of United States freedom and progress. Partners share fully in control of enterprise. No silent partners wanted. For details apply at your nearest school board office, P.T.A., or Citizens Committee. Act now; tomorrow may be too late.”—A suggested advertisement by Dr. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association.

This advertising copy dramatizes the funded capital investment America has in its free public schools. Indeed, in a democracy, no other institution save the Church has more influence on our corporate and individual lives. The following data quoted from a recent issue of Information Service points up four problems of public education that should be of deep concern to the Church: (a) the acute shortage of teachers and teaching facilities; (b) the grave attacks upon academic freedom in elementary and secondary schools; (c) the appalling apathy and ignorance of even right-thinking citizens about the problems that our public educators face; (d) the dilemma which our American philosophy of education imposes upon us. Public schools in

the best American tradition are to be controlled and administered by the community which they serve. This principle of home rule becomes dangerous when school boards reflect the ill-advised opinions of local control groups.

TODAY the million classroom teachers and administrators in our public schools serve over 26,000,000 pupils,” according to an NEA report. “There are 85,000 school districts, 210,000 buildings, and 340,000 school board members.

“Public-school property is valued at over 9 billion dollars—an average of \$385 per pupil. Total annual expenditures approach 6½ billion dollars, which is about one eighth of our present military budget. We are

spending about \$280 per pupil annually to build our future human resources.

"Latest estimates indicate that 1.0 per cent of public-school revenues come from the Federal Government; 42.7 per cent from state sources; 5.6 per cent from county sources; and 49.8 per cent from local sources. In 1949-1950 the annual cost of public schools was 2.3 per cent of the national income.

"Piled on top of accumulated shortages in curriculum, teachers, aids to instruction, classrooms, and funds are the new needs caused by rapidly increasing enrollments. Elementary-school enrollments are expected to be 6 million higher and high school enrollments 2 million higher in 1960 than in 1950.

"Six hundred thousand new classrooms will be needed between 1951-1952 and 1957-1958 at an estimated cost of at least \$18 billion; 252,000 of these units are needed to relieve the accumulated building shortage, another 222,000 to accommodate increasing enrollments.

"The teacher shortage in elementary grades continues to be acute. Over 75,000 new elementary teachers are needed each year, but teacher education institutions are preparing annually 46,000, of which 32,000 are four-year graduates."

Attacks on the Schools

The wave of criticism of the schools that has swept over the coun-

try is a curious phenomenon. It has appeared in widely separated communities and under a variety of auspices. In part, the complaints registered are based on alleged inadequacies of what is called "progressive education." It is charged that the fundamentals—the "three R's"—are neglected for educational frills. This controversy may be regarded, perhaps, as one form of a perennial conflict between the old and the new, between traditionalists and innovators. More immediately troublesome are the attacks on the schools as agencies of "subversion." *The New York Times* made a study of the war on textbooks and published a summary of the findings on May 25:

"1. A concerted campaign is under way over the country to censor school and college textbooks, reading materials, and other visual aids.

"2. Voluntary groups are being formed in nearly every state to screen books for 'subversive' or un-American statements. These organizations, not accountable to any legal body, are sometimes doing great harm in their communities.

"3. Librarians are intimidated by outside pressures in their choice of books and other materials. Unwilling to risk a public controversy, they meekly accept the requests of the self-appointed censorship groups.

"4. Several textbooks and other materials have already been removed from school or college libraries and

are effectively on 'the blacklist.'

"5. The attacks on the 'subversive' school texts appear to be part of a general campaign against public schools and other educational institutions."

The resulting problem is enormously difficult for the educational authorities, since it is axiomatic in America that the schools should be controlled by the people. We are by tradition and principle committed to democratic, local control within a general framework of educational requirements established by the state. The harm results when voluntary groups, without benefit of professional counsel, take upon themselves responsibility for appraisals that require expert knowledge. As one educator quoted in the *Times's* report expressed it, they are "the ultra or super patriots who for the most part are plain, ordinary, uninformed, goodhearted American citizens. They get greatly aroused about books they haven't read—if someone else tells them they are dangerous or subversive. I remember an American Legion post that got quite excited about the Rugg books and were about to raid the schoolhouse when the principal prevailed upon them to read the books first. This delayed the whole process, led to a lot of discus-

sion, and the books weren't burned, after all."

The two lines of criticism—against "progressive" methods and against subversive tendencies—converge on the teaching of history. On the reasonable assumption that acquaintance with American history is an important factor in competent and loyal citizenship, many critics unfamiliar with current educational methods have been much disturbed. They have leaped to the conclusion that if so many minutes of the school day are not formally allotted to a "subject" called American history, the pupils are not studying American history. This judgment takes no account of the modern method of integrating subject matter in teaching, in accord with the way the learner's experience tends to be organized.

This is not to pass judgment on the issue as to how well, or how much, history is taught in our schools, though the superficiality of some of the criticisms is apparent. Questions of this sort have to be continually raised and examined by educators. But the process of evaluation is made almost impossible by the intrusion of pressure groups that are uninformed about education—but who know exactly what they themselves want.

The Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10, has prepared a program on the theme "Why We Work—and How" for use in the observance of Church and Economic Life Week, January 18-24, 1953.

We Struggle and Hope

By VILMA FRASHER, *Director, Department of Christian Education, Church Federation of Los Angeles.*

THE "E in UNESCO," the "United Nations," the "Curriculum Division of the Los Angeles Public Schools"—any one of these phrases during the past ten months has immediately brought forth a discussion, no matter where it was uttered. Public hearings, board meetings, special committees have been many and varied. Just what is the controversy, and what has happened?

Briefly, the entire present controversy began in October, 1951, when some questions were raised concerning Curriculum Division Publication No. 491, *The E in UNESCO*. The publication was immediately withdrawn on a temporary basis pending further study.

The further study developed into a long series of hearings and committees and much notice from the press.

From one observer's point of view, this entire controversy appeared, first of all, as a fantastic travesty, which upon a second look began to seem vaguely ominous. This gave way to real concern when further study revealed that there was confusion, ignorance, and a complete lack of understanding, either of the problems under discussion or of the

procedure followed in providing curriculum materials, by most of the public involved.

As study and observation continued, it became increasingly apparent that this controversy was only a part of a well-planned, concerted attack on the freedom of educational procedures under a well-formed, clearly stated policy of criteria, in the selection of school curriculum.

Under the date of November, 1951, the Curriculum Division of the Los Angeles Public Schools issued a statement on *Policy on the Study of Current Public Problems*. From this statement we quote paragraph 1: "It shall be the policy of the Los Angeles City Schools to foster the study of vital present-day public problems in the classroom. This policy is in keeping with our point of view toward our pupils' needs for effective living in American democracy."

THIS policy statement followed very closely on the beginning of the controversy regarding the UNESCO program before the Los Angeles Board of Education.

After ten months of discussion, arguments, and, at times, vituperative statements, the Los Angeles City School Board made permanent, on

August 28, 1952, the temporary withdrawal of *The E in UNESCO* (a curriculum guide prepared for the use of elementary and secondary school teachers in developing an understanding of the purpose and hopes of UNESCO and also of the United Nations).

THE following facts emerged amidst all the confusion, denouncements, loud statements, and accusations present in each one of the several public hearings on the question:

First was the very evident ignorance on the part of many of the loudest protestants on the real issue at stake. In August of 1952, only one member of the Board of Education admitted having tried to discover what the UNESCO program had amounted to in the Los Angeles public schools the last year.

Many of the most vigorous statements of protest were made by persons so uninformed on the particular text under discussion that such statements as "advocating a federal world government" and "ridiculing patriotism to one's own country" were heard more than a few times. Careful study of the text has not shown one single phrase that might, even by farfetched imagination, be interpreted to do either thing.

The second very evident item was the small number, comparatively, of persons opposing the use of the textbook to those approving its use.

However, in loudness of protest and the use of abuse and innuendo reaching at times to disgraceful demonstrations of discourtesy and a denial of the right "peacefully to be heard in open assembly," the forces objecting to the program and, particularly, to *The E in UNESCO* far out-reached and outtalked the larger number of persons favoring the program. One was reminded of a quotation from Shakespeare, "The lady doth protest too much, methinks."

A third startling discovery was the fact that the general public accepted so gullibly a trite phrase or slogan as actual truth without giving one moment's thought to either the source or the validity of the statement. For instance, many who heard the phrase "Teach the American Constitution and American history in our schools" actually thought that courses in the subjects either were not being taught or would be discontinued if the UNESCO program was permitted to continue. Nothing could be farther from the facts.

AMERICAN institutions and ideals are introduced in kindergarten and taught on through junior college. Beginning with the fifth grade in the elementary schools, courses in United States history, geography, government, and Constitution are required by the school code and taught as required. From the junior high schools through the junior colleges,

three full semesters of U. S. history, geography, and Constitution are required of every student. These specific courses are supplemented in many ways by emphasis on American institutions and ideals in all the school studies.

Another amazing cliché was, "UNESCO teaching is the advocacy of birth control." Surprisingly, more queries came by telephone to the writer on this misstatement than on any other.

A fourth oft-repeated phrase was, "The Declaration of Human Rights is a charter for federal world government." One was often tempted to ask those making this claim to point out the page and line to uphold it.

We repeat that the acceptance of these statements as fact by the rank and file of the public revealed a naïveté of almost juvenile proportion.

One last emerging fact was a deep concern, almost amounting to fear, evidenced by the members of the Los Angeles Board of Education. Subjected to repeated attacks on every side during the past months and years and weakened by constant change in personnel, these public-spirited, earnest citizens endeavoring to fulfill a civic responsibility have had their reputation and their loyalty questioned, their motives impinged, and even at times their honesty doubted. Small wonder that they hesitate, and at times seemingly bow to pressure groups, or postpone

a decision which occasionally is of itself a negative decision.

Taking these experiences at face value after talking with school personnel, both teachers and administrators, the central fact that seems to stand out is that the attack on the UNESCO teaching in the Los Angeles public schools is part of a much more serious problem of the infringement of the right of freedom in education. Also, must we not recognize that, since the United States is a member nation of United Nations, teaching about the United Nations is essential education since it is a part of our own country's policy?

In the words of one rather blunt hearer of the public meetings, these items sound like "it's a real mess in education." And so it would seem; but perhaps all is not so black as it would appear.

A WELL-LOVED professor once said, "Remember, there is the confusion and disagreement that leads to chaos, but there is also the confusion and disagreement that leads to growth." Many evidences of growth are already manifesting themselves. Most noticeable is the increasing awareness of the citizens that this is their problem, not a problem for the educational forces alone.

Another hopeful sign is the renewed emphasis on loyalty, patriotism, and America's responsibility. Perhaps the most encouraging factor

is the renewed study of this whole area by church people, especially of the Protestant denominations.

FINALLY, this problem, as so many others in the past, has revealed again the basic unity of Christians; cutting across denominational lines and rising above theological barriers, the followers of Jesus Christ are recognizing in this present crisis a fundamental issue of vital significance to all of us.

The plan and program of the United Nations is a relatively new thing. We do not completely understand it. There are and will be problems and even some failures.

It is the earnest belief of this one observer (again quoting from the *Policy on the Study of Current Public Problems*) "that accurate information and effective thinking will discourage the uncritical acceptance of unsound proposals for solving public problems, and will focus the experience of history upon current problems"; and "that we teach our pupils to respect the right of others to be different in their opinions."

On October 28, 1952, the Board of Directors of the Church Federation of Los Angeles adopted the following resolution:

"Concerning the position of the Church Federation of Los Angeles and the present problem in public education regarding the United Nations, we call attention to the official statement of the National Council of

the Churches of Christ in the United States of America adopted June 11, 1952, by its General Board: 'We reaffirm our conviction that the United States must co-operate with all nations and dependent areas in their struggle for freedom and justice. Our national self-interest must be defined in terms broad enough to include the rights and needs of other peoples. We urge the United States to continue and to increase its support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, recognizing that any genuine international co-operation carries with it some limitation on national freedom of action.'"

YES, there is confusion in the Los Angeles area regarding many problems in the public schools. We are confident, however, that it is the confusion of growth, not chaos, if the minds and hearts of men keep open for honest appraisal.

Again we look into history and see a Man, stark against the sky. His teachings were ridiculed, his life now forfeit, his followers confused and dismayed. Their confusion then, however, was also one of growth, not chaos; for that failure has become earth's greatest victory, that of love over hate.

And so, confused as we seem to be at times, we grow; and here in our beloved Western world, America, we will emerge, in our public schools, from confusion to larger horizons. We struggle as those who hope!

Sanctuary

AN AMALGAMATED SEPARATION

Let's Pray About It:

Everlasting God our Father, we thank thee for our educators, whose passion is for the enlightenment of the human mind. As members of thy Church we would consider our responsibility to them and to their task. Help us to keep the traffic moving smoothly between our ivory towers and the schoolhouse. May we never be so shortsighted as to assume that secular education and Christian education are traveling divergent highways, but rather help us to see that the processes of teaching minds and saving souls can move freely on a bilateral road that carries the traffic in the same direction. We pray this prayer in the name of the Great Teacher, even Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let's Sing About It: "O Thou Whose Feet Have Climbed Life's Hill."

Let's Think About It:

The principle of the separation of Church and State is one that has often been paid for in installments of blood. We affirm the necessity of keeping the two apart because we do not believe that a State-dominated Church can fulfill the ministry of Christ. Thus we feel that the Church and the public school must stand as separate institutions. However, we err when we assume that separation is synonymous with divorce. That is why, as Christians, we need to catch the vision of an "amalgamated separation."

An amalgamated separation provides for virile co-operation between church and school. It allows for vital interest in one another by people who support both. It does not permit a bill of divorcement. How can we, as churchmen, possibly assume that we need not have an active interest in an institution that oversees the development of our children for approximately six hours and fifteen minutes per day, five days per week? Yet it is a fact that many a staunch supporter of the Kingdom task takes no interest in the Parent-Teacher Association, the school curriculum, or the administrative problems involved in education.

What, then, is the answer? How can we go about maintaining between ourselves and our educators an amalgamated separation? Perhaps we ought to list first some of the things we must not do.

We must not presume to speak to the school as a Presbyterian Church without taking into account the viewpoints of all of the divergent denominations represented among the patrons. We tend to become Pharisaical when we amplify John Calvin in the schoolroom.

We must not assume that programs of released time for religious instruction will overcome all problems. If we have such a system in our community and it is working well, we have cause for rejoicing, but we should be careful lest we imagine that this is the "*summum bonum*" of co-operation between church and school.

We must not tolerate a bigotry that is permitted unchecked to brand our educators as "anti-God." Broad generalizations and half-truths concerning the secularization of education can and do build walls between us that are almost impossible to breach.

Now on the other side of the ledger, what are some of the things that we should be doing to bring about co-operation without collusion?

Perhaps all that we can do can be summed up under one heading, namely, we can carry the Christian conscience clear through our educational system in the same way that we carry it through our business and home relationships. By being thoroughly Christian in the view we take of modern education we can and must supply the leaven to the loaf.

Above all, and this is the most important, we must pray for our schools and those who run them. If we will but take the time to pray about this matter, then we will act in a Christ-directed way and the end result will be what we seek, an "amalgamated separation."

Let's Pray for Consecrated Imaginations:

Gracious God, our loving Father, we are prone to moan piteously about the secularization of public schools, but we are not so prone to do anything about it. Forgive us for our inattention. Help us to see that as followers of thy Son, our Lord, we have not only privilege but also responsibility. Consecrate our efforts as Christians to relate ourselves effectively to the great task of education, and may all that we do be done in the spirit of the Master, in whose name we pray. Amen.

—Prepared by Rev. O'Linn McGuire, Jr., pastor, Southridge Presbyterian Church, Roeland Park, Kansas City, Kansas; chairman, Topeka-Highland Presbyterian Committee on Social Education and Action.

Social Education

in Your Presbytery

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

SOMETIMES one of the most frustrating extracurricular assignments a minister can take is the chairmanship of the social education and action committee of presbytery.

He assumes the office with the zeal of a prophet, determined to give the churches strong leadership in asserting the social relevance of Christianity. He feels the awful responsibility of stirring the "social conscience" of the presbytery in an era of continuous crisis. He is keyed up to call the score on important issues of the day.

Then comes the letdown compounded of the busyness that plagues every minister's life, insufficient time for committee meetings, overly crowded presbytery dockets and calendars, a variety of competing interests in the churches, and often a plain reluctance in the presbytery to deal squarely with social issues.

In not a few presbyteries the social education and action chairman's yearly effort adds up to an encyclical to the churches urging the observance of Race Relations Sunday and a ten-minute, three-point report at the annual meeting composed the night before with the help of the minutes of the last General Assembly.

It is high time to re-examine the work of the presbytery committee on social education and action. We may look at it in terms of function, structure, relations with other presbytery activities, leadership, and strategy.

Primary Concern: the Churches

We should recognize at the start that the committee's chief function is to encourage social education and social action in and by the churches of the presbytery. The primary orientation should be, not to the presbytery as an ecclesiastical body, but to the churches going about their business of making "complete disciples" of all men within reach.

This requires channels of communication, appropriate media of information, contact persons in every church, special tools for ministers, training for local leaders, and so on. Obviously the committee should work in closest co-operation with other committees and agencies of the presbytery interested in strengthening the local churches.

Even in its relations with the presbytery, it would seem right for the social education and action committee to bear in mind that the churches

are its primary concern. To be sure, there are times when the committee, in its role as "social conscience," presents a burning issue and calls for appropriate pronouncement and action. A tragic tenement fire, the desecration of a synagogue, a threat to academic freedom in the schools, legislation affecting immigration, the needs of migrant workers, the disclosure of corruption in the local government, the support of the United Nations—these are some of the many matters about which the committee may urge the presbytery to speak and act. But even here it is important to involve the churches.

Related to Christian Education

There is great wisdom in tying the social education and action committee to the Christian education committee of presbytery. The "social education" phases of the committee's work are so obviously a part of the broad program of Christian education that to keep the functions unrelated is a serious mistake.

One way is to have the SEA committee serve as a subcommittee of the committee on Christian education. This arrangement (a) makes the SEA chairman a full member of the Christian education team, (b) puts social education and action on the agenda (which means *things to be done*) of the Christian education committee, and (c) brings social education and action into the age group activities of the presbytery.

It is important, however, for the SEA committee, even though it is located in the Christian education committee, to have a free and direct channel to the presbytery and to the churches in dealing with social issues and in pressing for social action. It must have its own place on the docket of presbytery meetings, its own "order of the day." Only so can the committee serve its function of "social conscience."

The plan of having SEA handled by a subcommittee of the Christian education committee commends itself especially to smaller and predominantly rural presbyteries. Where manpower shortage is serious, the SEA chairman can be the person who serves also as adult work chairman in the Christian education committee.

In larger presbyteries, especially in metropolitan areas where committees can meet easily and often, it is usually better to maintain a fully independent SEA committee but to provide for an interlocking membership with the Christian education committee. The SEA chairman, for example, should be a member of the Christian education group. If presbytery rules do not permit a person to hold more than one committee membership, the SEA leader can serve as a co-opted member of the Christian education body. Likewise one or more members of the Christian education committee may be brought into the SEA committee.

Importance of Lay Membership

Committee membership should include lay representation from the presbyterial society, the men's council, and youth and student organizations of presbytery.

Certainly the social education and action secretary of the women's presbyterial society should be brought into the counsel and work of the presbytery SEA body. Frequently the best informed and most skilled SEA leader in the entire presbytery is the presbyterial secretary carrying this assignment. Social education and action have gone farthest where the leaders of presbytery and presbyterial have worked as a team.

The National Council of Westminster Fellowship suggests that the leader carrying responsibility for Christian citizenship in the presbytery WF organization should be tied to the SEA committee of the presbytery. Some moribund SEA committees would be jarred awake if a few of our socially sensitive and alert young people were asked to serve on them.

Seminary teachers of Christian ethics and social science faculty members of colleges in the boundaries of presbytery can be valuable resource persons on the committee. Leaders, social case workers, and staff members of neighborhood houses, who deal all the time with raw and inflamed social problems, may be co-opted members.

Presbyteries have been known to make two kinds of mistakes in naming SEA chairmen. On the one hand, men have been chosen because of their narrow, fanatical interest in a single aspect of the Church's social mission, such as temperance, or the rights of workers, or pacifism. On the other hand, men have been given the assignment because of their reputation for conservatism, for avoiding troubling questions and controversial issues."

It is not well for the SEA leader to be an extremist; neither should he be full of fears and doubts on the subject of the social outreach of the churches. He ought to have some deep convictions about the everyday relevancy of Christianity and the ethical responsibilities of Christian discipleship. He can be zealous without being fanatical. He should realize that social education and action have to do with many more subjects than the one or two in which he may be especially interested.

To zeal must be added knowledge and skill, especially skill in working with people, and handling differences constructively. Various "in service" training opportunities are open to social education and action leaders in presbyteries and presbyterial societies. Courses for them are offered, for example, in six regional summer training schools sponsored by the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. In each of these schools, a week affords as much as

fifteen hours of intensive classroom work with added hours of consultation with skilled teachers and exposure to other Christian education disciplines. SEA courses are also offered in many synod-sponsored summer schools.

Churchmen's seminars in Washington with exciting on-the-spot study of government functioning have proven their worth in citizenship education for our leaders. The valuable institutes on industrial relations sponsored by the Board of National Missions under Marshal Scott's guidance certainly should be listed among the training opportunities for SEA chairmen. Regional institutes on racial and cultural relations are held every summer in Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Oregon under interdenominational auspices. Every summer, too, several SEA leaders attend various schools of alcohol studies.

Dealing with Sensitive Issues

Sometimes the SEA committee may feel it necessary to call upon the presbytery and the churches to act on a controversial social issue. There is likely to be division and debate when the subject is introduced. The committee should never broach a sensitive issue merely for the sake of "stirring things up." But it would

seem that a committee that always avoids trouble is negligent of its duty.

In 1950, the General Assembly, in approving the report of the special committee set up to review the work of the Department of Social Education and Action, assumed that presbytery committees would be venture-some. The General Assembly urged that these committees keep in close touch with the Department of Social Education and Action, seeking the Department's counsel and help in formulating pronouncements and developing programs of action. This is especially important when the proposals run the risk of controversy. At least let presbytery committees send to the Department regular reports and reviews of their work. Only so can the Department accurately interpret the state of the Church in social education and action.

After all, how can we know what the churches should say and do about the complicated social problems on every side? It may help to be reminded that persons are our concern. Whatever helps a person to be all that God wants him to be is right and should be served by the churches. Whatever in any way degrades a man, hurts him, keeps him from fulfilling God's desire for him, is wrong and should be resisted by the churches.

This is the third in a series on the church and Christian social responsibility. The first article, "Why Christians Are Concerned About the World," appeared in September, 1952, and the second, "Social Education in the Local Church," appeared in November.

Christian ACTION

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL

As many groups in different churches meet for the study of the missionary themes for this year it may be well to note other forces at work for the redemption of Africa and for human rights.

UNICEF—The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is carrying on in Africa, south of the Sahara Desert. To that area has been allocated \$825,000. Shipments of powdered milk, DDT with sprayers, jeeps, trucks, serum for vaccination, public-address systems have been sent to Brazzaville, Leopoldville, Lomé, Cotonou, Douala, Monrovia, Abidjan, and Dakar. Loud-speakers tell the people the purpose of the campaign, and what milk and vaccination will do for their children. Jeeps and trucks distribute milk to children in widely scattered areas. The milk-feeding program already under way in the Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, and French Equatorial Africa is estimated to reach 340,000 children. Vaccination and antimalaria programs will reach many more, even into the millions, as the program

goes on. Not all children like the idea of the needle, so in several places they adopted a unique plan of assembling in a movie house with the price of admission one shot in the arm. It worked.

Trusteeship—Several parts of Africa have been the concern of the Trusteeship Council: Togoland, Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika, and the Cameroons. The council not only has a special adviser in each territory but sends special missions to survey and investigate. In addition, the people themselves have the right of petition and hearing. This General Assembly has granted hearing to representatives of the Somali Youth League, the Douala people, the Togoland Congress, and the Moslem group in the Cameroons. These will be heard in the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, which will in turn report to the Assembly.

Human Rights—After a long process of drafting, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the U N General Assembly in Paris, December 10, 1948.

The United Nations has been criticized for spending so much time on a document that has no binding force. It is a statement of ideals and as such was sent out to all the countries of the world. What has been its effect? There is no adequate way to measure this, but in almost every part of the U N constant reference is made to the ideals in the declaration. Since 1948 a number of states have adopted new constitutions—Costa Rica, Syria, El Salvador, Haiti. In every case they have included ideals from the declaration, in some cases even using the wording. In other countries—France, West Germany, Canada, principles of the declaration are reflected in new laws dealing with employment, Displaced Persons, and other subjects.

All church groups should have the booklet *The Impact of the Universal Declaration*, 25 cents. Order from International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, N. Y. C. 27. Dorothy Canfield Fisher has made a notable contribution in her book *A Fair World for All* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., \$2.75). She has put the declaration into words that a child can understand and remember.

Women Delegates—Meet two women who are or have been chairmen of their delegations in the General Assembly of 1952. Dr. Gertruda Sekaninova of Cakrtova, Czechoslovakia, speaks five different languages, participated in the Paris Peace Conference and the Japanese Peace Conference in San Francisco. She says that her country has given attention to the status of women as shown by laws providing equal pay for women since 1945. It is interesting to note, too, that the items on the agenda pertaining to peace interest her most.

Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India, has been Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and to the U.S.A. Mme. Pandit says: "The world is passing through a period of unparalleled travail, and the very things for which the charter stands are being denied in many parts of the globe. The United Nations' existence depends on its ability to translate the noble words and high ideals of the charter into the lives of the humblest individuals in the smallest nations." She introduced the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa into the Assembly.

—Mabel Head, Observer,
United Nations.

THE ELDERS AND THE SCHOOL BONDS

Who says that the Church has no influence in modern-day public-school education? Here is a true

story of a church that thought differently. For obvious reasons, all places and names have been changed,

but the facts are really facts, for this happened.

Americaville needed a new school. The old unsightly firetrap that stood in the square at the head of Main Street had been built in 1878. It was antiquated and extremely ugly, but there it stood and, if bond elections meant anything, there it would continue to stand, symbol of education in Americaville.

The people of the town were aware of the inadequacy of their educational plant and had managed to petition in legal numbers for a bond election in order that they might have a new school. The bonds had been voted down, not once but twice. Each time it was the same old story. Those who favored the idea of a new school stayed away from the polls in droves. Those who opposed the issue came en masse and voted.

Now it was time for a third election and the prophets of doom were predicting a third defeat for the progressives who wanted a new school. The prophets had been right twice, but what they didn't know this time was that a group of Presbyterian laymen had suddenly had their social consciences tickled and were beginning to squirm in the direction of some concentrated action.

It had all come about at a session meeting. The matter of a new school and the impending election had somehow been introduced as a matter for discussion. Since it was gen-

erally agreed that the session should not take direct action in the matter, the moderator suggested that session business be finished and that after the meeting was adjourned the school discussion be continued over a cup of coffee by all interested.

In the unofficial and unrecorded discussion that took place that night over several cups of coffee the elders of the Americaville Presbyterian Church made an important decision. They decided that the Presbyterian Church had no business throwing its weight around as a Church but that the parishioners not only had a right to throw their weight around a bit, but had a downright responsibility as Christians to do so. A new school was not only needed, it was an issue that was right and Christians were obligated to defend the right.

The following Sunday, the pastor urged the people to vote, but he was careful not to coerce their vote. He suggested that they pray about their ballot and be led by God's spirit in the decision they reached, realizing that as Christians they were speaking for God.

Americaville never knew exactly what happened on the following Tuesday. The citizenry knew that the bond issue carried by a tidy margin. They are now enjoying their new school. It's amazing what can happen when Christians take themselves seriously, isn't it? They can even win elections for new schools.

—*Rev. O'Linn McGuire, Jr.*

HUMANITIES ESSENTIAL TO CITIZENSHIP

(Following are excerpts from an address delivered late in October by one of the most eminent jurists of our time, Judge Learned Hand, retired Chief Judge of the Second Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. The theme of his address at the eighty-sixth convocation of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York was the education of citizens as a preparation for their political duties. Because Judge Hand's remarks seem so pertinent to our time we believe they deserve wide attention and have secured permission to print portions of the address. We regret that lack of space precludes printing the entire address. In 1950 Judge Hand wrote the Court of Appeals opinion affirming the conviction of the eleven top Communist leaders in this country.)

I SHALL argue that the "humanities," instead of being regarded only as a solace, a refuge, and an enrichment of the individual—as indeed they are—are also an essential factor in training him to perform his duties in a democratic society, as important even as an acquaintance with the persons and the current events on which he is called upon to pass. . . . What is "freedom of speech and of the press"? What is the "establishment of religion and the free exercise thereof"? What are "unreasonable searches," "due process of law," and "equal protection of the law"?—all these are left wholly undefined and cannot be effectively determined without some acquaintance with what men in the past have thought and felt to be their most precious interests. . . . For, as you know, courts will not intervene—or at least they constantly avow that they should not—unless the action challenged infringes the Constitution beyond any fair dispute. While there

are any plausible arguments in support of a measure, they must abstain; and so it results that in much the larger part of such controversies it is the voters, speaking through their delegates, who have the final word and the final responsibility; and that in the end it is they and they alone who can and will preserve our liberties, if preserved they are to be. . . . There is no substitute for an open mind, enriched by reading and the arts. . . .

It is not enough to be personally detached, although that is, of course, a condition. We must also acquire a capacity for an informed sympathy with and understanding of the desires and the values of others. I submit that only those have any chance of attaining whose experience is supplemented by some acquaintance, the wider the better, with what others have thought and felt in circumstances as near as possible to those of the groups in question. . . .

I am arguing that an education that includes the "humanities" is essential to political wisdom. By "humanities" I especially mean history; but close beside history and of almost, if not quite, equal importance are letters, poetry, philosophy, the plastic arts, and music. Most of the issues that mankind sets out to settle, it never does settle. They are not solved, because, as I have tried to say, they are incapable of solution properly speaking, being concerned with incommensurables. At any rate, even if that is not always true, the opposing parties seldom do agree upon a solution; and the dispute fades into the past unsolved, though perhaps it may be renewed as history and fought over again. It disappears because it is replaced by some compromise that, although not wholly acceptable to either side, offers a tolerable substitute for victory; and he who would find the substitute needs an endowment as rich as possible in experience, an experience that makes the heart generous and provides his mind with an understanding of the hearts of others. The great moderates of history were more often than not men of that sort, steeped, like Montaigne and Erasmus, in knowledge of the past. . . .

Out of such a temper alone can come any political success that will not leave behind rancor and vindictiveness that is likely so deeply to

infect its benefits as to make victory not worth-while; and it is a temper best bred in those who have at least what I like to call a bowing acquaintance with the "humanities." For these are fitted to admonish us how tentative and provisional are our attainments, intellectual and moral; and how often the deepest convictions of one generation are the rejects of the next. That does not indeed deny the possibility that, as time goes on, we shall accumulate some body of valid conclusions; but it does mean that these we can achieve only by accumulation, that wisdom is to be gained only as we stand upon the shoulders of those who have gone before. Just as in science we cannot advance except as we take over what we inherit, so in statecraft no generation can safely start at scratch. The subject matter of science is recorded observation of the external world; the subject matter of statecraft is the soul of man, and of that too there are records—the records I am talking about today. The imagination can be purged and the judgment ripened only by an awareness of the slow, hesitant, wayward course of human life, its failures, its successes, but its indomitable will to endure.

I cannot but think that we of this generation are politically in special need of such education. Our nation is embarked upon a venture as yet unproved; we have set our hopes upon a community in which men

shall be given unchecked control of their own lives. That community is in peril; it is invaded from within, it is threatened from without; it faces a test which it may fail to pass. The choice is ours whether, when we hear the pipes of Pan, we shall stampede like a frightened flock, forgetting all those professions on which we have claimed to rest our polity.

God knows, there is risk in refusing to act till the facts are all in; but is there not greater risk in abandoning the conditions of all rational inquiry? Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust, which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undisputed and unintimidated inquiry.

I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose.

Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that

binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion. I do not say that these will suffice; who knows but what we may be on a slope that leads down to aboriginal savagery. But of this I am sure: if we are to escape, we must not yield a foot upon demanding a fair field, and an honest race, to all ideas. "Blame not before thou hast examined: understand first, and then rebuke. Answer not before thou hast heard; and interrupt not in the midst of speech." [Ecclesiasticus 11:7, 8.] Those words were written nearly two thousand years ago; they came out of an experience already long, and refined in the fires of passion and conflict; they are the product of a wisdom, bought by ages of bitter trial; and by that wisdom alone shall we be saved, we, who boast ourselves to be the apostles of a faith in the eventual triumph of wisdom. Listen also to these as ancient words that tell of the excellence of wisdom: "There is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy, alone in kind, manifold, subtil, freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, distinct, unharmed, loving what is good, keen,

unhindered, beneficent, loving toward man, steadfast, sure, free from care, all-powerful, all-surveying, and penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure, most subtil. . . . And if a man longeth even for much experience, she knoweth the things of old, and divineth the things to come: she understandeth subtilties of speeches and interpretations of dark sayings: she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the issues of seasons and times. I determined therefore to take her

unto me to live with me, knowing that she is one who would give me good thoughts for counsel, and encourage me in cares and grief. . . . For she knoweth all things and hath understanding thereof, and in my doings she shall guide me in ways of soberness, and she shall guard me in her glory. And so shall my works be acceptable, and I shall judge thy people righteously, and I shall be worthy of my father's throne." [Wisdom of Solomon 7: 22, 23; 8: 8, 9, 9: 11, 12.]

EXPERIMENTS IN CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

A most significant experiment in citizenship training for high school and junior high students is now in its third year at Teachers College, Columbia University. Known as the "Citizenship Education Project" and financed by large annual grants from the Carnegie Corporation, it is now active in thirty states and in 363 public-school systems.

A two-year progress report observes that "human beings are not born with the skills necessary to discharge their responsibilities in a free society." The situation is in direct contrast to that which exists in a dictatorship where the good citizen is one who merely does what he is told. In the latter case citizenship education is a relatively simple matter of teaching people to obey blindly. But in a society whose leaders are responsible to the public,

citizenship education must include the development of a wide variety of civic skills related to public affairs.

Civic Skills Must Be Learned

The skills that the good citizen must possess include how to keep leaders responsible, how to register approval or protest regarding decisions made by public representatives, how to make use of one's membership in groups so that the policies of these groups may reflect the general public good, how to choose group and political party membership, how to use expert advice in arriving at public decisions, and how to discharge the duties of public office.

Previously, teaching about citizenship had been confined to academic discussions in civics classes, to the neglect of the many "how to" as-

pects of citizenship. Dr. Allen O. Felix, chairman, Resources Development of the Project, believes that it is really what the citizen does with what he knows and thinks that counts, and that *citizenship skills can be taught only through action*. The Project, therefore, gives even very young members of our public-school classes actual experience in public affairs.

It is thrilling to note what many young people have been able to do in the Project. A seventh-grade class in Schenectady, New York, aroused over the inadequate recreational facilities provided by their school, assumed the responsibility of surveying community recreational resources. The teacher, aided by several prominent members of the community, including the mayor, guided the work of the class. In groups of twos and threes the students covered every street to locate the available facilities and to ascertain how many children were in need of play space. Fired with enthusiasm, the students presented their findings to community leaders, including the mayor, superintendent of schools, and the president of the board of education. The committee of adults suggested ways in which the students could help enlarge the recreational facilities.

In the Oklahoma Senate a bill that would greatly benefit the Oklahoma city public schools was being discussed. Several speakers had spoken

against the bill. The chairman called the next speaker. To the amazement of the entire Senate and the four hundred spectators, a fourteen-year-old boy responded. In a manner becoming a self-confident adult, this student of Douglas High School (a high school for Negro students) told the Senate that his class had been working on a citizenship project that involved following and influencing legislation. He outlined what he and his class considered to be the basic objectives of education in an American community, expressed himself in favor of the bill, and enumerated his reasons. Bowing politely, he left the rostrum. Senate and spectators responded with an overwhelming ovation.

Workshop and Collaboration

The Citizenship Education Project includes an intensive workshop training program for teachers and principals in related public-school systems. These educators are delegated by co-operative local school boards to come to the headquarters of the Project at Teachers College, Columbia University. Following the week's workshop, they have a continuing relationship to the Project through a field staff and the exchange of bulletins and materials. In the workshop they get acquainted with the three principal tools of the program:

1. *Laboratory practices*, as the Project staff call them, are activities providing students with actual ex-

perience in some phase of citizenship. They emphasize the doing aspect of learning.

2. The *materials card file* provides a key to pertinent information about the vast realm of citizenship.

3. The third tool is the *organization guide*, designed to assist teachers in incorporating the teaching methods and materials in the laboratory practice pamphlets in the courses which they now teach.

The Project makes its resources available to schools only after some expression of interest comes from them. Schools may obtain the planning tools after one or more teachers in the system have received a thorough orientation to them, provided in a five-day planning workshop. At the end of this work period, the school may then undertake collaborating arrangements.

Collaboration with a school involves the board of education, the school superintendent, the principal, and the supervisory staff.


In administering its workshops CEP works largely through local or regional agencies. State departments of education, school study councils, zones of the Associated Public School Systems, schools of education, and teachers colleges are generally the agencies through which CEP reaches interested schools in different parts of the country. Such an agency identifies the schools, invites their people to the workshop, and makes the necessary arrange-

ments on place, date, and space. CEP then staffs and provides the necessary materials for the workshop.

Project staff have lent their skillful services to the Army, Navy, and Air Force training programs, and have developed a series of cleverly "packaged" one-hour teaching units known as "Hours of Freedom." Not too long ago first or second lieutenants droned out their "orientation" lectures while dog-tired trainees slumped in their seats and went soundly to sleep. Now, thanks to CEP, small groups of men get involved in hot discussions of rather complicated ethical, social, and political problems. Each "package" contains an instructor's guide that even the least experienced teacher can use successfully.

Plans are now under way for making these fascinating materials available to civilians in civic organizations, industrial training groups, and churches. The staff of the Department of Social Education and Action are working with Dr. Felix and his staff with the hope of relating social education and action leaders and committees in churches and presbyteries to local school boards affiliated with the Project. Details will be reported soon in the *Social Progress Bulletin*.

—Adapted from *Improving Citizenship Education*, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used with permission.



About Books

Our Public Schools—Christian or Secular, by R. H. Martin. The National Reform Association. \$2.00.

The strongest and most valuable part of this book is in the center, where the author is dealing with the Supreme Court decision in the *McCollum* case. The banning of the released-time program in Champaign, Illinois, on the grounds that the separation of Church and State forbids any teaching of religion in the public schools of the nation is shown by Dr. Martin to rest upon a misinterpretation of the first amendment to the Constitution.

A decision that was meant to safeguard the freedom of all Churches and to prevent any one Church from gaining a place of undue influence in the State has been made the basis for a new doctrine—that the Christian religion is to be excluded from exerting any direct influence upon education or affairs of government. Dr. Martin brands this rightly as a doctrine of “the godless state,” and demonstrates that it had no place in the minds of such men as Thomas Jefferson, Horace Mann, and James Madison, who were cited by the Supreme Court justices as proponents of a completely secularized education.

There are some serious weaknesses in Dr. Martin's presentation. He fails to show that beneath all teaching there must be certain presuppositions concerning the meaning of the world and of life and that while the Christian religion may be barred out from the main entrance, non-Christian philosophies are coming in through all manner of openings. He speaks of the evil of the religious vacuum that exists in public education, but his case would be greatly

strengthened by showing the nature of the religions that have already entered to fill the vacuum. He is also somewhat naïve in assuming that it is a simple matter to separate the essentials of Christianity from their distinctive, or, as he calls it, “sectarian,” expression in the various Churches and to secure an effective teaching of these essentials in the public school. A released-time program under the direction of the Churches is declared inadequate; nothing is sufficient except a teaching of the Christian religion by the schools themselves. But does this mean that the school authorities, or the State, are to take over the responsibility of Christian teaching and with it the authority to determine what is to be taught as the Christian religion?

There is good reason to be uneasy about Dr. Martin's argument at this point. He himself has great difficulty in distinguishing between American democratic culture and the Christian religion. He pleads for the teaching of Christianity in the schools primarily as a way of strengthening American democracy and diminishing juvenile crime. But what about those elements in the Christian gospel that are an affront to the American way of life? Are these also to be taught in the schools? Has he considered also the problems that would arise from requiring teachers to instruct pupils in the Christian religion if the teachers themselves have no Christian faith or are in confusion about it? Certainly we must insist that education that ignores the place of religion in history, in literature, and in the whole of life is bad education and can lead only to a distorted outlook. But to charge the schools with the specific task of educating the rising generation in the

Christian faith is to transfer to the State a responsibility that belongs to the Church and that dare not be evaded by the Church without serious consequences.

—James D. Smart

A particular feature of *Our Public Schools* is the wealth of appropriate and supporting quotations that continually bring into sharp focus the confirming thinking of many foremost educators and religious leaders. The book is abundantly documented and clearly indexed for quick reference. It is written in rapidly moving and nontechnical language and printed in large, clear type. The book is designed primarily for laymen, not specialists, and for parents who are concerned with the religious training of their children. Dr. Martin has put us all in his debt by the preparation of this volume. The present reviewer would recommend *Our Public Schools—Christian or Secular* as “the religious book of the month.”

—William W. McKinney, in the *Christian Statesman*, March, 1952.

The Church in Community Action, by Harvey Seifert. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$2.75.

This book was written out of the desire to make available to the local church a comprehensive handbook of techniques of community action. Dr. Seifert's book presents a workable over-all plan for leader-

ship. Inasmuch as community action is a fundamental function of the church, every pastor, ministerial student, and lay leader will find in *The Church in Community Action* much valuable information to help him carry out his individual responsibility in the church and community.

The author's lifelong study of the church's responsibility in society and especially in the field of economics well equips him to present this guide to community action.

Two-thirds of a Nation: A Housing Program, by Nathan Straus. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.00.

The author, as the first Administrator of the United States Housing Authority (1937-1942), has extensive background on which to base this careful survey of the many and varied problems of housing and city planning. In the words of Mr. Straus, “America today stands committed to a rehousing program with the goal of providing a good home for every family in the nation.”

Toward this end, special emphasis is given to the needs of middle-income families as well as to families in slum areas. It deals, too, with the planned redevelopment of cities based on dispersal and a lowered density of population. *Two-thirds of a Nation* provides good background material for discussion by community-minded citizens and especially by active SEA committees.

Economic Life Week Materials

Religion in the Day's Work, by Cameron P. Hall. Handbook for conferences and occupational study groups in churches and communities. 20 cents.

Report of the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work, including conference message and sixteen group reports. 35 cents.

On-the-Job Dilemmas of Christian Laymen. Addresses of Church leaders at the Buffalo conference. 30 cents.

Christian Responsibility Toward Some Ethical Problems in Inflation. For study and discussion in the churches. 5 cents.

The Churches and Agricultural Policy. A preliminary study for discussion in the churches. 5 cents.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Problem in Placement

ALL dressed up and no place to go! That is something like the predicament in which many gifted Negro young people find themselves who come to the Church as candidates for full-time Christian service. Opportunities for them are extremely limited in our churches and in Presbyterian-related agencies and institutions. It is no wonder that some of our finest young people of minority background choose not the ministry but other fields of service which they feel offer them greater opportunity for Christian vocation. Not a few of them have come to think of the Church as a conserving force for the *status quo*, not a creative, prophetic agency for righteousness and brotherhood.

Our great denomination, with its agencies and Boards, its eight thousand churches, its world-wide mission enterprise, should be offering a multitude of vocational opportunities for young Christians of all racial groups. Some new doors are opening, but these doors are not swinging wide enough.

This critical problem of Christian leadership was explored in a significant conference on Race and Enlistment held recently with representatives from the Board of National Missions, The Board of Foreign Missions, the Board of Christian Education, and the Council on Theological Education. The meeting was convened by Marcus J. Priester, Secretary of the Department of Life Work, and leadership was shared by the placement secretaries of the two Mission Boards, Dr. Laurence Lange and Dr. Andrew T. Roy.

It is clear that our Church's employment standards fall short of its preaching about brotherhood and of our General Assembly's high goal for a nonsegregated Church. Indeed, the "help wanted" newspaper ad of a Presbyterian orphanage in an Eastern city persistently carries the line, "White only." Special articles in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS discuss these problems in relation to the missionary enterprise of our Church.

Clifford Earle

Intergroup Relations in 1952

HERE is a résumé of some recent developments in racial and cultural relations in America. A more complete summary appears in the November, 1952, issue of *NAIRO Reporter*, published by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in New York City. (Used by permission.) Our readers may wish to subscribe to this bulletin—\$3.00 per year.

In Employment

Although there was relatively little unemployment during 1952, the rate of unemployment among nonwhites was double the rate among the white members of our population.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, became the twenty-eighth city to adopt the full employment practices ordinance. Efforts to pass FEP legislation failed by narrow margins in Toledo and Detroit. Chicago passed a law prohibiting discrimination in the employment of cab drivers. A Cincinnati ordinance adopted in March, 1952, prohibits discrimination by the Street-Railway Company. In December, Governor Fine, of Pennsylvania, ordered the removal of discrimination in the state police force.

The Illinois Department of Labor revived a long-dormant statute prohibiting discrimination in training or employment by firms working on war or defense contracts.

Public employment services in California and Illinois adopted rules prohibiting the servicing of discriminatory job orders. Trade and business associations in both states strongly resisted the new regulations.

In states and cities with FEP Commissions, the volume of complaints continued to be pretty small. Satisfactory adjustments were reached through conference and conciliation in virtually all cases in which discrimination was found. Many of the municipal FEP laws were not being enforced because of lack of appropriations. At year's end, eight ¹ states and twenty-five ² cities in other states have FEP laws with enforcement provisions. Three additional states and three cities have FEP laws without enforcement provisions which are necessary for their effective operation.

¹ States: Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island.

No enforcement: Washington, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

² Municipalities: Ohio—Campbell, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Girard, Hubbard, Lorain, Lowellville, Niles, Steubenville, Struthers, Warren, Youngstown; Pennsylvania—Farrell, Monessen, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Sharon; Illinois—Chicago; Indiana—East Chicago, Gary; Minnesota—Minneapolis; Wisconsin—Milwaukee; Iowa—Sioux City; Michigan—Pontiac, River Rouge.

No enforcement: Ohio—Akron; Arizona—Phoenix; California—Richmond.

In Housing

Discrimination in housing remains one of the most serious sources of intergroup tension. There were few outstanding developments in this sensitive field during this past year.

Although no state enacted legislation affecting housing discrimination during the year, several cities took action with regard to public housing—Omaha, Cleveland, Toledo, Pontiac and Richmond, California. In Omaha a policy of nonsegregation will be followed in all new projects and will be extended gradually to existing projects.

In three cities—Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco—careful studies were made of the effect on real-estate values of purchases of homes by non-whites. Reports of these studies challenge the common assumption that these purchases uniformly cause a drop in market value. One report says, "Transactions take place at prices closely corresponding to those in comparable all-white areas."

The notorious Cicero affair of 1951 came to a dismal conclusion when the only convictions that had been obtained resulted in light fines for the guilty parties. An attempt by a Negro family to move into an all-white slum area on Chicago's southwest side, near the site of the political conventions last summer, touched a disturbance that was kept from becoming a serious riot only by alert police action.

In Education

Big news of the year was the hearing by the United States Supreme Court, on December 8, of arguments on appeals from several decisions of lower courts concerning segregated school cases. It is expected that the Supreme Court will announce its decisions in March or later.

In Illinois, the segregated system broke down early in 1952 when an old law was revised to deny state funds to discriminatory systems. There were near riots in Cairo before integration was accomplished, but elsewhere there was little or no difficulty.

Philadelphia pioneered in giving public-school personnel special training in intergroup relations.

In the Armed Services

The Defense Department, speaking through Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary, reports that there has been steady progress toward the elimination of racial segregation in the Armed Forces.

Integration is nearly complete in the Air Force. Negro airmen are distributed throughout the service.

There is apparently no discrimination whatever in the Marine Corps.

In the Navy, all general service ratings are open without discrimination, and Negro seamen are found in all categories, although often in small numbers. Continuing problems are the small and low rank of Negro officers and the high concentration, approximately one half of all Negro seamen, in the messman's service.

Both numerically and proportionately, the Army has by far the most Negro men in uniform. Integration has been thoroughly accomplished in all training divisions and in replacement training centers throughout the United States. It is nearing completion in other units located all through the country. Integration was completed in the Far East Command, and racial designation removed in all units early in 1952. The integration program has been stepped up in Europe and is now in advanced stages.

Efforts to achieve integration in the Armed Forces are complicated by community patterns of racial discrimination. Improvements on the post tended to sharpen the impact on the Negro serviceman of bigotry he encounters in the civilian environment. To deal with this problem, the military can only request the co-operation and assistance of community organizations and authorities.

In the Labor Movement

Organized labor, through international unions, as well as through state and local labor councils, has stepped up its efforts to develop programs for better group relations. Outstanding progress was made during the year by the C.I.O. Automobile, Steelworkers, Electrical, Packinghouse, and Rubber Workers unions as well as by the A.F.L. Teachers, Meat Cutters, Garment, and Automobile Workers.

Of the seventeen nonoperating Railway Brotherhoods, universally restricted in the past, only one, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, still maintains the constitutional restriction against Negro members. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks took recent steps to eliminate discrimination and segregation, as did the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths voted overwhelmingly to abandon segregation and to negotiate for FEP clauses in all future contracts, the first A.F.L. union to take such a step.

(Continued on page 21)

The Church's Goal — Nonsegregation

By GAYRAUD WILMORE, *Regional Secretary of the Student Christian Movement in the Middle Atlantic area.*

This article was written expressly for the adult study magazine *Crossroads* and will appear in its October-December, 1953, issue. It is reprinted here by permission of the editors and published because of its timely relation to this month's emphasis on brotherhood.

WHETHER we are white or black, yellow or brown, meeting in separate white groups or separate nonwhite groups, we know that God is not pleased with this situation in his Church. We know that no matter how much we debate and struggle with the problem of sin in the world today, we can never escape the terrible fact that one of the greatest sins is the fact that the Church of Jesus Christ remains divided by race and color.

Negro Christians who read this article will recognize that racial segregation is the greatest stumbling block to the evangelistic message and mission of the Church. They will recall the constant struggle in their own lives against suspicions and doubts about the validity of a religion of love which expresses itself in a segregated institution.

White Christians will recall the embarrassment of trying to explain segregation in the American Churches to jeering critics of religion. For some who read this article, it has always been a question of wanting to do something about it,

but not knowing quite what the Bible says or where to begin to take hold.

What does Scripture teach us about being Christian in race relations? This is the question to which we, both white and nonwhite Christians, must address ourselves. Secondly, we must grapple with an even more formidable question: What can we do about the separateness of our own particular church?

We Are Equal Before God

Matthew 22:37-39 reminds us that the very basic Christian principles apply to race relations as to all human relations. This is important to remember. There is no necessity to curriycorn the pages of the Bible for a special injunction against restrictive housing covenants or discrimination in job opportunities. This is the root of the matter: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Jesus made it clear that this is

where the Christian begins to understand all his relations with God and man. Neither can we hope to obey the one command and escape the other. The writer of I John 4: 20 tells us that when we despise or act prejudicially toward our brother we break, not one commandment, but both. "For he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

The great anathema of racial discrimination is not in what it does to the person discriminated against, but what it does to the soul of the person who discriminates. For as he does so, he is arrogating himself above God, daring to deny worth to a human personality upon whom God has already placed a sacred value. This discrimination is a rejection of the order of creation ordained by God and open rebellion against his sovereign purposes.

Throughout his ministry the apostle Paul was struggling with people very much like those who today would probably advocate white supremacy. In Paul's time, they were the ones who believed in a Jewish supremacy. His message to the Galatian church made it clear that out of the new faith in Christ comes a more powerful dynamic for brotherhood than even the Jewish teaching that God created all men equal. No mere equalitarianism or ethic of universal brotherhood can provide the driving power of a faith that calls us to love

the brother for whom Christ died (I Cor. 8: 11). No civil code or document of human rights can provide the compulsion of a religion that teaches that among those baptized in Christ there are no more differences, either of race, class, or sex. All are new creatures who have become one in him.

We Share Equally in God's Love

A glance at faces on a streetcar will tell anyone that men spring from a common parentage. But it is peculiarly the Christian's testimony that he is bound to every man by something even more common than physical likeness—the sin that he shares with all men. It was for this common sin that Christ died. "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another" (I John 4: 11). Moreover, the Christian knows that he is even more inseparably bound to those with whom he shares the baptism of Christ which has canceled the penalty of that sin.

What does this mean except that we have the duty to be brothers to all men? We must love and identify ourselves with those who know Jesus Christ as Lord. And we have the particular obligation to express our unity with all men by fighting the evils of segregation and discrimination which give it the lie.

We who profess to know Christ are one body. Even though we have not yet been spared the open scars of division, we certainly should be

cured forever of the ravages of the disease of prejudice and bigotry that once corrupted our souls. "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away" (II Cor. 5: 17).

A Long History of Segregation

If we are indeed new creatures, liberated from the tyranny of racial intolerance, why do we persist in this sin? Such a question Paul must have thrown in the face of Peter when they met before the church in Antioch.

To begin with, let us be sure that there is no easier answer to the problem of race in the Church than in the society it serves. The Church is rooted in the social environment and shares its imperfection. This inevitable relationship is another reason why Christians must join with others of good will to solve the problem in the community. Impatiently demanding that the Church practice what it preaches, many Negro Christians are yet aware that there are no easy answers to the enigma of a segregated church.

A long history of social conditioning in irrational feelings about people "different from ourselves" lies behind the present situation. Prejudices are learned reactions planted in the seedbed of personality. They are nurtured by everyday experiences in a world where social and economic fences keep us apart and ignorant about each other.

More Negro Christians need to remember this as we justifiably denounce the segregated churches, remembering too that the sin of "prejudgment"—a response to the white man's prejudice—is not limited to any race. This is the sin of man as man and because of it no man is justified before God. We are all a disobedient people.

On the other hand, white Christians who sincerely attempt to practice Christian race relations in the church and find themselves rebuffed by Negroes need to be aware of the psychological problems that many Negroes face in their transition from a segregated to an integrated pattern.

So it is true that even in the performance of our clear duty to love God and the neighbor, there is no direct, single-lane turnpike to the Kingdom of God. We are constantly bewildered by the winding bypasses and detours of our own sin and of the sin of those who have gone before us and have cut the wrong roads. Little wonder that we cry with Paul, "Who is able to deliver us from this dilemma?" We thank our God that there is One who is able if we trust him and take action.

Some Solutions

We can realize the will of God in an inclusive church by loving all and by exercising intelligence in our human relations. An interracial church, for example, does not ordinarily

happen because of a Race Relations Sunday sermon or an impulsive visitation campaign. It comes out of an accurate knowledge of the social situation, continuing prayer, and the use of studied methods of action.

Neither can the pastor be expected to carry the load alone. There must be a cell of convinced lay persons who are able to lift the matter to the level of natural conversation among the members.

But even before this small command group can go into action, the terrain must be carefully scouted and the situation and strength of the friendly forces assessed.

We must distinguish between churches that are segregated by choice and those that are segregated by circumstance. Many put off decision because of their own indifference and inertia. But some find it difficult to practice inclusiveness because of segregated housing, the unreadiness of the other racial group, or other factors.

Also of crucial importance are community attitudes regarding race. Although the church obedient to its Lord will not be dictated to by the community, it must know its attitudes in order intelligently to manipulate and exploit those institutions and resources which hinder or help its objective. Attacking the problem of segregation in a social institution as conspicuous and important as the Church, requires the wisdom of serpents and the gentleness of doves.

Whether your church has a white or nonwhite membership a careful survey of the sociological facts of the parish is essential. A study of attitudes in the congregation, followed by a survey of community attitudes, is necessary to locate problem areas that must be dealt with before a strategy can be devised.

These are tactics, consecrated by prayer, in preparation for action. Once the facts are in hand, however, those who know the truth in Christ must act decisively. Here, as in other areas of Christian social concern, we are called to bear the cross of self-denial and personal sacrifice.

Today the whole world is watching to see what the Christian Church will do. White and Negro Presbyterians, white and Negro Christians must not be content just with the easy solution of integrated synods and presbyteries. They together must make the local church inclusive wherever races are found side by side.

Rev. Arnold J. Dahlquist, pastor of the interracial St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran Church in New York City, told a recent Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations at Lincoln University:

"Let's frankly admit that what we are trying to do won't win us any popularity contests. Having admitted that, let us march forth with determined courage, knowing that the Lord is on our side—or, better yet, that in this we are on his."

Enlistment from Minority Groups for Church Vocations

By MARCUS J. PRIESTER, *Secretary, Department of Life Work, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*

A PUZZLING situation is developing. There has been a steady upward trend in the number of Church vocations candidates in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America since 1930, but the number of candidates coming from minority groups in our Church during the last ten years has nose-dived. This problem is more than a Presbyterian dilemma; other denominations are facing a similar situation. The reasons are varied and complex, and no simple solutions are at hand. But the Church must diagnose the situation and carry the burden of concern.

I intend that the following comments do little more than indicate the nature of the problem of recruiting from minority groups. I hope that some of my own reflections will serve to stimulate further examination of the problem so that ways of meeting it may be suggested. Some of the comments here reflect the attitudes of and statements by students of minority groups who are wrestling with their vocational decisions.

In sharing some of the evidences of the problem of recruiting from minority groups, I recall the report

of one of our Westminster Fellowship summer conferences in 1951: "Many ask what they can do since no job opportunities are open for Negro Church vocations candidates other than the ministry. The present conference is not in a position to assure its youth that the field of Church vocations is open and full employment possible. Many youth are eager to make commitments, but find the door closed."

Similarly, questions are raised continually in counseling with students in our Church who come from various racial or ethnic backgrounds. A Negro student in an Eastern college felt a call to the gospel ministry. The nearer he came to entering seminary, the more deeply questions and doubts began to disturb him. "What chance is there for me? I remember a minister who spent two years working in a railroad yard after graduation from seminary before he was called to a segregated church. Does the Church really want Negro ministers?"

Catch also the pathos and dedication in the words of a Chinese student, an effective campus Christian leader: "The way will be hard, but

I must, I must give my life to Christ in the gospel ministry, even though I will be able to find no other place than a mission in the desert or mountain!"

One counselor could think of nine nisei candidates who in recent years were preparing for the ministry. One is a pastor; the others have been diverted into secular avenues of work.

As a Presbyterian family we have been proud of the cosmopolitan nature of our Church—the varied national and racial backgrounds that have been brought together, knit slowly into the fabric of the whole Church. But who can doubt that some aspects of the problem raised above stem from the plodding slowness of the realization of a nonsegregated Presbyterian church in a nonsegregated society?

Students are quick to point out not only this "turtling" pace of the Church in dealing with vocational opportunities for minorities, but they also list the speedy advances made by these groups in sports, government, public education, industry, and the professions. Others are shrewd enough to say that such advances in the secular areas are a result of what the Church has declared the gospel to be, though the Church may have been slow to practice it.

There is another disarming comment that has come from candidates thinking about a Church vocation: "Sometimes," they say, "we have the

feeling that we are talking piously about brotherhood, not out of response to the gospel, but simply to save our own skins, preserve our reputation abroad as we struggle against Communism." There are wells that are deeper and springs that must flow clearer.

Yes, an impatience is evident—an impatience to show in life and work, salary and job opportunity, that which as Christians we say with our lips.

But our problem is more than a racial dilemma. It is not without its broader, and just as drastic, cultural implications. Families of minority groups have been influenced by the same molding forces that press upon us all. Sons and daughters have been encouraged to seek an education that will yield a job more lucrative than churches are able to pay. With a greater number and a wider variety of positions open it has been easier either to deny or rationalize motives of service, self-giving, and ministering. The call of Christ through the Church falls on busy or half-deaf ears. The Church's challenge needs to ring sharp and clear, supported by sympathetic family advice. Frequently we find families who will finance their sons and daughters through any other profession but the ministry or Christian education.

On the other hand there are students who find it difficult to feel that the live, moving force in human af-

fairs is the Church. The old institution is stolid and unprophetic. The clamor for change and progress, movement and conflict, finds outlets in other sources. Some eyes are alight with social humanism, others with simple and practical community service, others seem to fade early into being "tired liberals." Service motives are not lacking, but they are not harnessed to the life and work of the Church. Here is another witness to the impact of modern culture upon the vocational decision of youth in minority groups.

This summary statement represents merely a wedge into this aspect of our enlistment problem. Lest I appear cynical in my expression of criticism, permit me to take a quick glimpse at encouraging signs on the horizon.

Those of us who participated in the consultation on this problem last fall were heartened by the openness of the policies of the Boards and agencies of our Church. We admitted that we had a long way to go to implement our policies, but a genuine concern was evident, a willingness to explore new ways to open doors of opportunity. From minority groups within the Church we could list men and women who were staff members, field directors, university pastors, Student Christian Movement leaders, missionaries, secretaries—serving happily and enthusiastically in interracial situations.

Candidates from minority groups face a more hopeful day in the Church's pastorates. But we shall need men and women from our colleges and seminaries who can relate deep Christian interracial experiences to the life of the local church.

A general principle seems to be emerging that leaders from minority groups ought to move out into leadership among racial groups on their own. Young candidates and job applicants should stand on their own feet, ready to be measured by the quality of their skills, consecration, and personality and not by race or national background.

It may be that the Church will need to find further ways and means to remove the inequities of the quality of education of some of the minority groups in this country.

These are facts with which we must reckon. These are facts with which candidates from minority groups can help us wrestle and win through. For I am confident that there are young people in minority groups associated with our Church who find fresh prophetic blood stirring in their veins, tough enough and Christian enough to help us blaze new trails in the Church and in our society. Will the Church receive these volunteers, help educate them, and help to place them in tasks commensurate with their qualifications? If we find the resounding "yea," the volunteers will be found.

Opportunity for Service

By FRANCES B. PEACOCK, *Editorial Assistant, Office of Education and Publicity, Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*

WE ARE all aware that the supreme purpose of the Church has always been to bring the hopeful message of Christ to everyone, to the major groups of society as well as to the minorities. As this great work has spread, new calls for service have come, which the Board of National Missions has endeavored to meet, ever mindful, however, of the high educational standards that the Presbyterian Church has set and to which it has adhered unswervingly.

From the beginning there have been repeated cries for more teachers, more pastors, more doctors, more nurses, and today there are increasing prospects of education and employment and, most important, of enrichment of spiritual life in work with the Board of National Missions. While it is acknowledged that we have by no means reached the plane of ideal race relations, there continue to be expanded opportunities for the education and training of leadership on all levels, from the rural school teacher to the theological student. These opportunities are backed up by the recommendation that all of the National Board's missionary enterprises be "re-examined with a view to removing as rapidly

as possible all barriers to free participation without reference to race" (Advance Program report, 1948).

In 1951 there were 2,700 persons working through the channel of the Board of National Missions in religious, educational, and social work. There were 304 staff members engaged in the Board's work in the West Indies. The Department of Work with Colored People conducted almost 300 missionary enterprises. In the work among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest there was a staff of 143 persons. And so it goes throughout the whole Board. Each phase offers its rich rewards in service to others, each presents its demands for leadership, the sole requirements being a dedication to Christian principles and educational qualifications to meet the high level of the Church.

We find a current example of the Board's beliefs—and action—in the person of the general nurse at Sage Memorial Hospital on the Navaho Indian Reservation at Ganado, Arizona. Viyella Mitchell took her nurse's training in Durham, North Carolina, and obtained a certificate in public-health nursing from

the medical college in Richmond. During her years of private and public health nursing, Miss Mitchell attended summer conferences at Johnson C. Smith University and Maryville College, and from these sprang her desire to enter mission service. Miss Mitchell received her appointment from the Board of National Missions not because of or in spite of her Negro origin, but because she is "an alert, deeply consecrated nurse with unusual spiritual insight." She is determined to achieve her ideal of "comprehensive nursing"—the ministering to the total person, spiritually and mentally, as well as physically.

Then there is the fabled Rosario Cruz of *The Flying Boat*, Bernice Damian, who crossed the border into the United States from her native Mexico in a basket of eggs and who has remained to become one of the most vital forces in mission work today in her position as a teacher at the Presbyterian Day School in Truchas, New Mexico.

There is Dr. Yu-Chen Liu, who is an assistant in the Department of Home Economics, the library, and "other departments as needed" at Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa, North Carolina. A grad-

uate of Cheeloo University in Tsinan, Dr. Liu has also attended nine colleges and universities across this country from Oregon to Maryland, imbuing those who have met her with her strong Christian conviction and spirit of religious adventure.

There is Roe B. Lewis, of the Pima Papago tribe, the first full-blooded Indian to become an ordained Presbyterian minister on the faculty of Cook Christian Training School. There is Salvador Bernart from Puerto Rico, an ordained minister on the staff of Labor Temple in New York City. There is the former child laborer in the cotton fields of the Southwest, who attended mission school, graduated from college, and is now a teacher in a mission school among his own Spanish-speaking people.

There are others—in the North, the South, the East, and the West. They are teaching in day schools and healing in hospitals. They are preaching from well-established pulpits and from mobile stations. All of them are living proof that the Church, through its Board of National Missions, is determined to administer to spiritual needs wherever they are found with the finest means available from every source.

Everyone Welcome, a handbook on racial and cultural relations, provides a helpful guide to Christian action. It is for all people, of all racial and cultural backgrounds. Order from your nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service. 50 cents a copy.

Invitation to Adventure

By WILLIAM N. WYSHAM, *Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*

IN HIS foreword to the leaflet *Invitation to Spiritual Adventure*, Dr. James H. Robinson has summarized the reasons why young Negro men and women should apply to The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for missionary service overseas. From his own experience he has demonstrated the amazing welcome that an American Negro Christian receives in non-Christian lands. As a member of the Board, he speaks for the Board in stating that the Board will send out as missionaries all qualified Negro candidates for whom adequate support is available.

Again and again in its long history, the Board has commissioned Negro missionaries, although until recently these have been sent only to Africa. One of the earliest fields of the Board was Liberia, where work was begun by the Western Foreign Missionary Society four years before the Board was organized in 1837 and took over its work. It is recorded that among the first missionaries sent to Liberia in 1833 was James Temple, a Negro resident of Philadelphia, who was appointed assistant missionary. Two years later, Ephraim Titler, a Negro residing in Liberia, was also appointed by the

Western Foreign Missionary Society.

After the work in Liberia was taken over by The Board of Foreign Missions, a priority was given to the appointment of Negro missionaries because it was thought that they were better fitted to meet West African climatic conditions.

Thus, out of eighty missionaries sent to Liberia by the Board until the mission was withdrawn in 1891, sixty were Negroes.

Negro missionaries on the west coast of Africa proved just as susceptible as white men to African diseases, and the casualties among both races were devastating. After 1891 no Negroes were appointed for some years, and although the Board from time to time stated that it would accept all candidates who measured up to its standards, the impression got abroad in Negro colleges and churches that Negroes were perhaps not welcomed. To clarify this situation, the Board invited representatives of Negro Presbyterian churches to a conference in New York in 1927 in order to review the whole matter. This conference agreed that a special effort should be made to appoint Negroes to the Cameroun mission in West Africa and to ask Negro

churches to share in their support. The next year Rev. and Mrs. Irvin W. Underhill were appointed and served devotedly in West Africa until 1934 when Mrs. Underhill died. Since then Rev. Underhill has continued his Christian service in the U. S.

Again in 1948 the Board held a special consultation on recruiting Negro candidates in which several Negro Presbyterian leaders shared. The Board's policy of appointing missionaries of all races was again made clear, and it was evident that the only barrier to Negro appointments was the dearth of qualified applicants.

In recent years more than one Negro couple has been appointed by The Board of Foreign Missions, but circumstances prevented their getting to the field. In 1948, Rev. Darius L. Swann went to China as a short-term missionary, but was compelled to leave after the Communist occupation. Following graduate study, he married Vera Pearl Poe, and now Mr. and Mrs. Swann are under appointment to India as permanent missionaries to that field.

Not only do Rev. Mr. Swann's experience and Dr. Robinson's testimony make it clear that Negro missionaries may serve today in other than African fields, but a recent inquiry by the Board confirms the fact that they will be welcomed in every part of the world where Presbyterians serve.

The missions and churches in India, Pakistan, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, the Near East, and, of course, Cameroun, will gladly welcome qualified Negro missionaries. Word comes from Brazil that there is no color line in the Church there, and the mission cordially invites missionaries of the Negro race.

All Negro young people who wish to share in the great adventure of making Jesus Christ known and in helping to build his world-wide Church in areas of Presbyterian service abroad are urged to get in touch with the Board. Interested students at the college, and even at high school, level should write to the Department of Missionary Personnel for full information about qualifications and openings overseas. In brief, not only men with theological training are needed but both men and women teachers and physicians and specialists in many lines of service. The number of new missionaries who can be sent out in any one year is limited by budgetary requirements, and high educational, as well as physical and spiritual qualifications, are more necessary than ever today. However, the Board is not only ready but eager to consider all Negro candidates who can meet these standards.

In some lands today a Negro missionary of Jesus Christ, just because of his darker skin, has a unique opportunity to reach the minds and hearts of those with whom he works.

Sanctuary

CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD

Let Us Worship God:

"Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us?"

—*Mal. 2: 10.*

"God that made the world and all things therein, . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, . . . that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us."—*Acts 17: 24, 26, 27.*

Let Us Pray:

O God, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, thy fullness is the life of all creation. Thou art the good and end of every creature's being. Thirsty, we drink of thy exhaustless fountain; famished, we live by every word that proceedeth from thy mouth. One in creaturely need, may we be one also in thanksgiving and praise, that we may answer with unanimity of heart, though with diversity of speech, to the abundant grace wherewith we have been blessed, in Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer of Confession:

"I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord;
And thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin."

How shall we love thee, O God, whom we have not seen when we cannot love one another whom we have seen? Can bitter cisterns give forth sweet water? Can souls jealous of privilege, place, and power give generous praise to thee? Can we who harden our hearts against a brother's need bring gifts unto thy altar which thou wilt accept? How stiffly we stand upright who should be on our knees; how lustily we boast who should mourn our insolence. Thou resistest the proud. With divine severity that is tenderest love, cut away from us false conceits, that standing naked in thy sight we may be clothed with garments of thy righteousness. Restore to us the joy of thy salvation. Make us childlike in heart, loving thee purely and one another sincerely. Enable us to walk in the way of thy commandments, and do those things which are pleasing in thy sight. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Assurance of Pardon:

“Come now, and let us reason together,
Saith the Lord:
Though your sins be as scarlet,
They shall be as white as snow;
Though they be red like crimson,
They shall be as wool.
If ye be willing and obedient,
Ye shall eat the good of the land.”

—*Isa. 1: 18, 19.*

A Scripture Lesson: Acts 10: 34-48.

Meditation:

“ . . . Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.”—*Matt. 25: 37-40.*

So long as I cannot feel another person's pain, I am a child who thoughtlessly pulls wings off butterflies. I am not intentionally cruel, and when I have been hurt by other people I shall give them the benefit of the same doubt. Perhaps I have been too busy planning for myself, doing things that interest me, or just desperately trying to keep my head above water to build bridges of imaginative love and intuitive sensitiveness to the lives of others. When I reflect a moment, that may be why I walked right past the sign, “We cater to white trade only.” I have not learned to think and feel anything but “white.” How often a word has escaped my lips before my heart has made me understand!

It was not so with Jesus. He was mature. “In all their affliction he was afflicted.” The desperation of the leper he made his own; the loneliness of social outcasts he experienced as ostracism of himself; hunger, thirst, sickness, and imprisonment he suffered with all the unfortunate of the world. If I remain in his company, will the defensive shell I have hardened around myself dissolve? Am I willing to yield to his spirit, which, if welcomed, will change me from a negative and selfish individual into a free and warmhearted human? How shall I unbind my own arms, who have let myself become so shackled? Can he free me who brought liberty to captives?

—*Prepared by Paul S. Wright, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon, and member Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action representing the Board of Christian Education.*

Operation Brotherhood

By LOUIS A. PETERSEN, *Director of Public Relations, North Coastal area, Synod of California, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*

"And it came to pass upon a certain Lord's Day that this scribe went into the house of God to worship.

"A goodly company of people having come together to hear the Word of God, the scribe lifted up his eyes, and, behold, Negroes and white men sat side by side in the house of God; and when the hymns were sung, they did stand together and lifted up their voices, reading from books shared between them.

"And it came to pass that a certain young Negro stood and read from the Word of God, and the whole company was edified."

THIS was the experience of your correspondent when recently he visited Westminster Church in San Francisco. This is the church whose merger with Hope Presbyterian Church (Negro) on May 4, 1952, had been so dramatically chronicled across the nation.

What has happened to this unique congregation in the months that have elapsed since they had thrust upon them so much fame and notoriety? Was the merger destined to be an ill-timed experiment soon to collapse ignominiously of its own temerity; or was it a move completely in the will of God on which his signal blessing would fall?

Early Success

That the latter has happened is abundantly borne out by the facts.

Here in the midst of a community that is predominantly lower middle class, racially heterogeneous, and

economically handicapped, Westminster Center and Church is open day in and day out, ministering to the needs of the people, who are discovering that the Church can and does give *more* than spiritual guidance. Negro and white youngsters romp and play with Spanish children and sit side by side with rapt attention as Mrs. Chadsey instructs them in Christian living.

Here, in the evening, come the parents of these youngsters for fellowship, recreation, and Bible study. Mothers meet in forenoon sessions for adult classes and to help in the busy life of the Center. Sunday mornings find the Sunday school facilities crowded with children and youth. Orville Chadsey, a seminarian, and his capable wife, Barbara, direct the Christian education program, using the Faith and Life curriculum.

At eleven o'clock Mr. Chadsey ac-

companies the Negro pastor, Rev. Wesley L. Hawes, into the pulpit where they share responsibilities for the service of worship, which is well attended week after week by a congregation that is about half white and half Negro.

Observing these people in their worship, one is reminded of the psalmist, who exclaimed, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

Members of the church recently held their first bazaar for the purpose of raising funds for building repairs and improvements. If it is true that a bazaar is the acid test of brotherly love, then certainly these people have been blessed with a generous portion. The affair was smoothly successful from initial planning, through enthusiastic reality, to happy climax. Even the youngsters had booths and were made to feel a sense of responsibility for the total program of the Church and Center.

Timing Providential

But there are other factors to consider if the true measure of the project is to be taken. Behind the thousands of lines of publicity given the merger story by newspapers, radio, and national magazines—publicity which literally went around the world—lie some extremely significant and noteworthy aspects of the event.

Although the unification of the two congregations had been under

consideration for several months, the actual event broke providentially (May 4, 1952) at a time when racial tensions were at a high pitch and community temper was seething. A young Chinese American was forced by community pressure groups to move from his recently purchased home and locate elsewhere with his wife and young child. Within two weeks, a Negro family, moving into an East Bay neighborhood, was threatened and abused by other residents of the area. Supported by Caucasian groups with a saner outlook, he was able to weather the storm and keep his home. But tempers and tensions had not completely subsided when these Christians let it be known that they intended to form one congregation and worship together Him after "whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named." It was a quiet but widely felt rebuke to those who would make issue of differences in skin coloration.

At the same time, Communists were giving the United Nations and democracies extraordinarily sharp needling on the racial question. The story of the Westminster-Hope merger, winging its way around the world and probably even behind some of the "iron curtains," gave the lie to the old party propaganda: "Democracies always have racial tensions and inequalities!"

A few days after the services of merger, representatives of our State

Department said to Rev. Wesley Hawes, "You and your congregation have done more today for the cause of peace and democracy in this act than any other thing that we know!"

Natural Need Fulfilled

One feels impelled to ask: "To what can the success of this venture be attributed? Why has this interracial project succeeded where others have failed?"

That God has guided and blessed Westminster Church, there can be no question. But there is a very vital fact that must not be overlooked nor forgotten. *This merger was a natural development in meeting a need.*

There have been other "inter-racial" and "fellowship" churches, most of which were initiated to play up the interracial features, or were

started by individuals whose hypersensitiveness to the minority group situation could be alleviated in no other manner.

The congregations of Westminster and Hope came together to solve mutual problems—one needed room; the other had room to spare. The constituency of the crowded church was slowly moving into the neighborhood of the church whose facilities were not being used to their fullest capacity, and both felt a profound conviction that, as Presbyterians, we ought to minister more effectively to the nearly 44,000 colored people of San Francisco.

Said Rev. Wesley Hawes, pastor of the dynamic congregation, "It all seems perfectly right and natural to us—we have one God; let us have one church!"

"And the scribe came away from the house of God, having worshiped in spirit and truth. And, lo, his heart was lifted up within him, for he had seen this day hope for the fulfillment of the promise of God."

Medical Profession Moves Ahead

For the first time in the history of South Carolina's medical groups, white and Negro doctors now belong to one local organization. Five Negro physicians were recently admitted to membership in the Charleston County Medical Association: Drs. W. H. Felder, C. T. Holloway, T. M. McCottry, T. C. McFall, and N. F. Wilson.

This was made possible by a revision of the bylaws of the state medical group deleting all mention of color or race. The state society then urged the county societies to take similar action in order that Negro physicians might become members of the county groups—a prerequisite to state membership. These five physicians are now members of all three groups—county, state, and national.

If your church does not have a club subscription to *Social Progress*, why not write to the Department for information about special rates for quantity orders?

INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN 1952

(Continued from page 4)

The American Federation of Teachers adopted a constitutional amendment to abolish local union charters that permit segregation of white and Negro teachers into separate local unions.

In an Illinois local of the ILGWU, a union "court" voted to sustain an employer's dismissal of a worker for directing anti-Semitic remarks at him during a strike.

In Public Accommodations

In New York and Rhode Island, the jurisdiction of administrative agencies set up to handle complaints of job discrimination was extended to include discrimination in places of public accommodation. Now five states—the others being New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts—provide for enforcement of laws against discrimination in such public services as hotels, restaurants, and amusement places. Last February, the city of Albuquerque, New Mexico, adopted an ordinance prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in places of public accommodation, resort, and amusement within the city. A similar ordinance was defeated in a city-wide referendum two years ago in Portland, Oregon, following adoption by the city council. Proponents of the Albuquerque law sought a referendum hoping to follow Portland's example,

but obtained 1,970 of the required twelve thousand signatures.

A court decision in Kansas City required admission of Negroes to the city's Swope Park swimming pool. Rather than abandon segregation, the authorities of the city, pending an appeal, closed down the swimming pool, thus depriving white and Negro people alike of the use of a fine modern public accommodation erected at a cost of \$500,000.

In Public Transportation

The major development of the year in the fight to eliminate segregation in interstate transportation came in a decision last February of the Interstate Commerce Commission upholding a new regulation of the Southern Railway on the seating of passengers in dining cars.

The regulation reads as follows: "When entering singly, women will be seated with women, men with men, young people with young people, elderly persons with elderly persons, white persons with white persons, and Negroes with Negroes. In following the above illustration, stewards will bear in mind (occupied space permitting), white persons should be seated from the buffet or kitchen end of the dining car, and Negroes from the opposite ends (from the ends toward the middle)."

This regulation virtually nullifies,

at least for the Southern Railway, the far-reaching effect of the 1950 Supreme Court decision in the famous Henderson case. Elmer Henderson, who has successfully attacked the old regulation, has filed a petition in the Federal district court of Washington, D. C., seeking to have the ICC decision set aside.

All this may be contrasted with the recent ruling of the Illinois Commerce Commission that segregation of passengers in intrastate transportation is illegal under the Illinois Public Utilities act.

In Other Fields

In the realm of entertainment, a number of splendid movies dealt sensitively and constructively with situations involving intergroup clashes.

In the intergroup relations field specifically, only two films of importance were released during 1952—*The High Wall*, concerned with the subject of prejudice, which received the Cleveland Film Estimate Award; and *The Toymaker*, a puppet show on the theme of brotherhood.

Articles describing and promoting better intergroup relations appeared in many magazines. Outstanding were J. C. Furnas' two fine articles on race relations and FEPC, which ran in *Look* on August 26 and October 21. *Parents' Magazine* last January presented an effective roundup of expressions on brotherhood by famous persons. *The Saturday Evening Post* of October 18 presented

Booton Herndon's remarkable short story, "Dirtiest Game of the Year," depicting an American who momentarily succumbs to group prejudice, atones triumphantly, and has the ultimate reward of realizing his son is a fine, unprejudiced person. *McCall's* continued to present excellent articles on education. "Save Our Schools" and "Dangers Ahead in the Public Schools," by John Bainbridge, appeared in the September and October issues. A noteworthy development was the featuring of Negro youngsters as heroes in the monthly issues of *National Comics*.

On June 11, the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. issued a four-thousand-word statement denouncing racial segregation and exhorting the churches that give moral sanction to the practice by accepting it into their own life and institutions. This practice, said the statement, is "unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood." The churches, it admonished, "should act promptly and decisively to eliminate segregation from their own practices."

In New York last May, the 164th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. called for the elimination of racially segregated synods, presbyteries, and congregations within its ranks. The General Assembly reiterated its call for a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society.

Christian ACTION

A FELLOWSHIP WITHOUT BARRIERS

The School of Religion of Howard University, Washington, D. C., held a very significant convocation during the first week of November. It was the thirty-sixth annual meeting, and was under the direction of Dean Frank T. Wilson and the faculty of the School of Religion, Howard University. Among the principal speakers, symposia participants, and discussion leaders were Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president, Howard University; Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Dean of the School of Religion, Howard University; Dr. Howard Thurman, minister, Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, San Francisco; Dr. A. Powell Davies, minister, All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president, Talladega College, Alabama; Rev. C. Kilmer Meyers, minister, St. Augustine Chapel, New York; Rev. James H. Robinson, minister, Church of the Master, New York City; and Rev. E. Luther Cunningham, minister, St. Paul's Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

Possibly the first convocation to be held on the subject of racial integration within the Christian

Church, it took as its formal theme the subject "The Christian Church—a Fellowship Without Barriers." Several dozen speakers and leaders and a group of between two and three hundred ministers, educators, and other interested persons, Negro and white, took part in the three-day session that included lectures, discussion groups, and symposia.

To one who has attended the Howard convocations, possibly the most striking feature this year was the intellectual competence and spiritual maturity with which the ministers and laymen all tackled issues presented by the main speakers and the participants in the three symposia. The note of optimism and hope, in spite of many setbacks and the laggard attitude of Christian Churches to act according to their profession, was dominant. Every situation, it was emphasized, offers some hope, some opening for positive action. A program, conceived in good will and Christian love and carried out courageously, can do much to bring the conservative church into nearer alignment with its aim: "a nonsegregated church

and a nonsegregated community." But this goal will be fully realized only as the Church becomes truly the "Body

of Christ," a religious body with its center in the love and worship of God.

CALL TO THE CHURCHES

"The time has come for the American churches to reaffirm their support of the United Nations." These are the words of Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council of Churches, in an address in connection with the second annual general assembly of the Council.

Dr. Van Kirk believes that the United Nations is the one organization holding together a world that might otherwise fall apart. "If there

are subversives operating under the cloak of the United Nations, let them be cast out, and quickly. If the structure of the United Nations has been proved faulty, let that structure be strengthened. If the veto exercised by the great powers is hamstringing the United Nations, let serious thought be given as to how the use of the veto can be modified to correct this difficulty.

"But let us be done with this talk about the United Nations being washed up."

"IT WORKS"

It is schooltime in Tucson, Arizona—interracial schooltime in the land of desert sunshine where motor traffic is heavy and the need for school patrols most urgent. Proudly wearing their white Sam Brown belts and carrying their tall traffic poles, insignia of their prized offices, are children of many races—short ones, tall ones, skinny ones, fat ones, timid ones, and aggressive ones—all studying and playing together in true American tradition: Mexicans from below the border line, Indians from the Pima, Papago, Navaho, and Apache reservations, Chinese, Negro, Caucasian, Korean, Japanese.

Desegregation is a major problem in many other cities of the United States, but in the Old Pueblo—as Tucson is familiarly known in the Southwest—it is an accomplished fact, thanks to the courageous action of Robert D. Morrow, elder of Trinity Presbyterian Church and superintendent of Tucson public schools since 1940.

How did all this come about? From the beginning, Superintendent Morrow had the conviction that he must put his Christianity to work, that he must be a consistent Christian and a consistent American citizen. In the baby state of the Union, Mr.

Morrow found his work waiting for him. Segregation in public schools had been mandatory since Arizona first became a state in 1912.

Working through the church, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and other civic-minded organizations, including the American Legion, the Arizona Education Association, the Civic League, etc., a campaign was launched to have that law abolished. Efforts to repeal the segregation law met with defeat in the state legislature time after time, but those interested doggedly persisted. Mr. Morrow expressed the feeling of the group: "A democracy is a democracy in words only as long as our Negro students and teachers must be housed in separate buildings."

At last, in 1950, a compromise law was finally passed abolishing the segregation law but leaving it up to the individual towns or cities to adopt such a procedure. Many were thus free to avoid the issue, but Mr. Morrow went to meet it. He took the matter up with his school board, who backed him to the hilt and immediately voted for desegregation of the schools in Tucson. Tucson thus became the first city in the State of Arizona to adopt such a policy.

Desegregation was complete and city-wide. When Mr. Morrow made the change-over he went all the way. As a consequence, there are white teachers with predominantly Negro classes and Negro teachers with predominantly white classes. The whole

city school system was reorganized. When one Negro teacher resigned to take a master's degree at Columbia University she was replaced by another Negro teacher. In addition to Negro teachers Tucson has Chinese teachers, one Navaho Indian (a graduate of Ganado Mission), and one of Japanese origin. "All these teachers," said Mr. Morrow, "are making fine contributions to our schools and to the community life."

There have been some interesting and encouraging results of the desegregation program in Tucson. Eight or ten other communities in the state, including Yuma and Douglas, have now followed Tucson's policy with equally good results. And Mr. Morrow has received inquiries from many parts of the country asking for details of his change-over program.

In Tucson, the reaction to voluntary desegregation has been most promising. Teachers as well as pupils have been integrated in our school program. Negro teachers have been accompanying Caucasian teachers (also Chinese, Mexican, and Indian) to various neighborhood restaurants near the schools. At the meeting of the Arizona Education Association held recently, only two of the vast number of hotels and motels in Tucson refused to accept reservations from Negro teachers. Last spring, for the first time since the Cleveland Indians have

been training in Tucson, the Negro and the white ballplayers were housed in the same downtown hotel.

There is a decision now pending (November, 1952) in the Supreme Court which may make desegregation mandatory throughout the United States. In many cities, such a decision will pose a problem. Thanks to the forthright action of one Pres-

byterian elder who put his Christianity to work in his job as superintendent of public schools, desegregation is an accepted fact in Tucson. As a correspondent for *Time* magazine, sent to Tucson to cover the story, reported so eloquently, "It works."

—Glenn C. McGee, *Trinity Presbyterian Church, Tucson, Arizona.*

THE MATCHING PRINCIPLE

The main feature of UNICEF's operations throughout the world is what is called "the matching principle." In order for any country to receive the Fund's aid for its children, the Government of that country, or some voluntary agency within the country, must make a contribution equal or more in value to the aid requested of UNICEF. As this matching principle has operated, these contributions have often been many times that of UNICEF.

Thus, in effect, a contribution to UNICEF is doubled or more in value by the time the aid reaches the children. You pay for the powdered skim milk that UNICEF provides, and it is reconstituted into a glass of milk. With it, the child receives a piece of bread or some other food furnished either by the Government or by some volunteer agency.

You pay for the raw cotton, wool, and leather that UNICEF ships. The cost of converting that material into clothing and shoes is borne by the Government of the receiving country, and it amounts to as much or

more than your contribution. In this way twice as many babies have diapers; twice as many youngsters have warm wool jackets; and twice as many boys and girls have shoes.

So with the aid given by UNICEF and the World Health Organization for mass campaigns against disease and other health projects, the Governments of the assisted countries carry the main burden: UNICEF provides only those supplies and equipment that are not otherwise available and WHO gives its technical advice. This international assistance, however, makes possible national and local campaigns that otherwise could not be undertaken. Millions of mothers and children, and in some instances whole populations, are reached in this way.

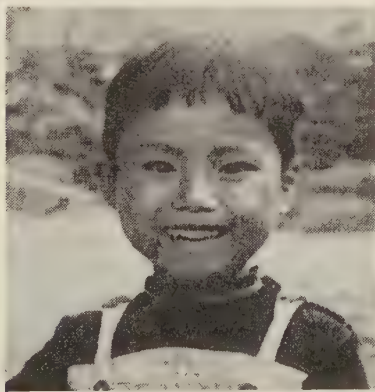
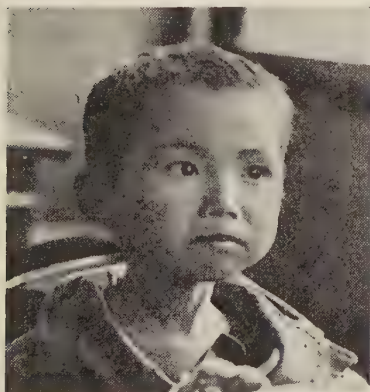
In all its operations UNICEF seeks to encourage initiative, whether governmental or private, and it particularly encourages efforts leading to lasting benefits for the children.—*United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, United Nations, New York.*

ONE GREAT HOUR OF SHARING

"Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." *Matt. 25: 40.*



Milk for India Children—At Bombay Nagpada, undernourished children line up to get cups of milk. Through United Appeal, such future men and women of India—many from Christian families—are saved from illness and death by the compassion of their brethren.



Kang Koo Ri, Korean orphan boy whose pitiful face touched the hearts of Christian givers in the appeal last year. Shown (left) as he was when brought to a Protestant orphanage and (right) as he is today, he is a living symbol of what our churches accomplish in their work of relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Gifts in the 1953 United Appeal will continue this work of Christ.

★ *Citizenship* ★

THE NEW CONGRESS

☒ The new year on Capitol Hill has opened with all the excitement attendant upon the return to power of a party twenty years out of office.

Pointing up the fact that the election victory in November was a personal triumph for General Eisenhower rather than for the Republican Party is the slim majority held by the party in Congress. Holding control by the narrowest margin in years, some sort of coalition is almost imperative to insure the adoption of their legislative program.

In an effort to facilitate matters in the Senate the size of committees has been reshuffled to give the party a more effective working majority. The size of the major committees has been increased by two members, and a reduction has been made in the size of the minor ones. This insures Republican control of all standing committees in the Senate despite the one-vote margin they hold in that body. Similar difficulty is being experienced in the House, and at press time a committee had been appointed to iron out the problem in order to assure safe majority control while maintaining adequate minority representation.

The most dominant figure in the 83d Congress is without question Senator Robert A. Taft. Contrary to

earlier expectations, the Senator decided he wanted to have the post of majority leader of the Senate rather than retain his chairmanship of the Republican Policy Committee and of the Committee on Education and Labor. This assures his inclusion in the small Congressional group which, according to custom, meets weekly with the President to make broad policy decisions and chart the party's legislative course.

Senator Taft, taking advantage of his seniority standing, has also decided to claim a place on the Foreign Relations Committee. This could have far-reaching effects of undetermined consequence. His superb mastery of the legislative machinery in these opening days of the session is a warning to the Administration that only by finding a way to work with him can it achieve its program.

It is too early to see the shape of much of the legislation that will emerge from this new Congress. It is possible, however, to foresee some of the issues that will engage the legislators in the months ahead.

Hearings on revision of the Taft-Hartley law are scheduled to begin in both Houses in February. Senator Bricker, joined by sixty other Senators, has offered a resolution specifying that any treaty or treaty provision which denies or abridges

any constitutional right would be invalid. The controls program, the role of government in housing, extension of reciprocal trade agreements, all the regular appropriation bills (involving defense expenditures and foreign aid), taxation and budget measures will be among other issues to receive attention.

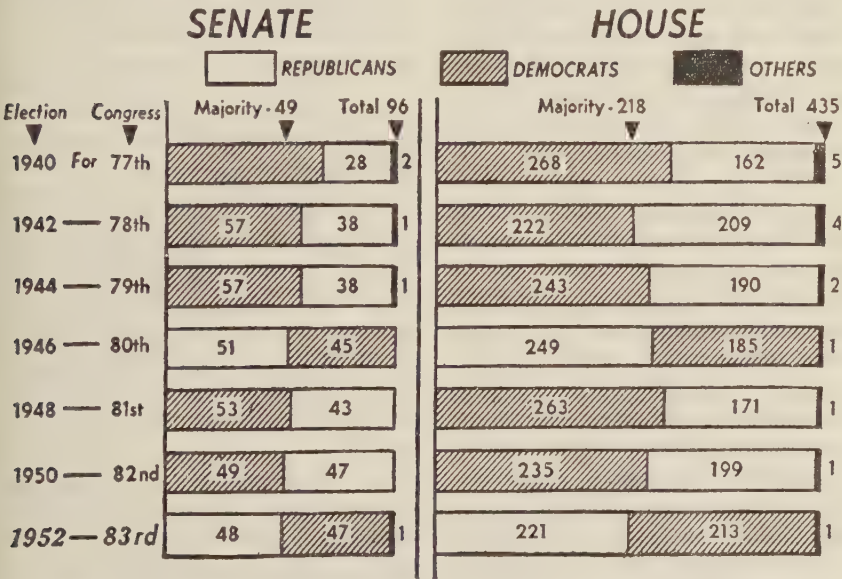
Perhaps the best indication of legislative results may be found in the general color of Congressional leadership. As *The New York Times* significantly points out: "Midwestern Republicans will head nine of the fifteen standing committees of the Senate, and thirteen of the nineteen standing House committees."

As we embark upon what the in-

coming minority leader of the Senate terms "a new era," it is to be hoped that the 83d Congress will give careful thought to an earlier admonition of Edmund Burke. Referring to another legislative body (substituting Congress for Parliament), he said: "[It] is not a Congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain. But Congress is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest—that of the whole.

"Not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole."

—Helen Lineweaver



Party strength in 83d Congress compared with previous Congresses. House has two democratic vacancies due to deaths since election. (AP Wirephoto)

About Books

People Are Important, by Eva Knox Evans. Capitol Pub. Co. \$2.50.

Have you ever wondered why we have first and last names and why they are what they are? Can you imagine eating, and enjoying as we do candy or salted peanuts, a certain Chinese worm fried to a crisp, golden brown? And whatever would we do without that cup of coffee! Yet Joe Mongolia begs his mother for another cup of sour horse's milk, and if given a taste of coffee instead, he would spit it out and wash out his mouth with water to get rid of the awful taste. Then too, if Joe Mongolia invited you to dinner and you forgot to belch after you had eaten, it would be very bad manners.

How did manners begin? Such ways of acting are hard to understand, but it's important to remember that "manners began because people needed ways to show friendliness and thoughtfulness." Good manners anywhere is making other people comfortable. For instance, you may know someone who knows exactly the correct way to eat his food and use his napkin. That's fine. But does he make the people who don't know how feel uncomfortable? *Inside* manners are the most important ones to learn.

Mrs. Evans, in a perfectly fascinating way, has written of the differences that exist among the two billion people on our globe. She has given historical and scientific information concerning the many interesting cultures in the world. With it all, she has pointed up the intrinsic worth of man. She writes, "Every single person in the world is important to himself," and draws an effective conclusion that though we are all different from each other in many interesting and curious ways, yet we are all alike because each one of us is important.

A Fair World for All, by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. \$2.75.

Mrs. Fisher was asked to write a book that would present the meaning of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in a way that boys and girls and young people would understand. This she has done with a warmth of feeling and understanding for youth and their everyday problems.

In the author's well-known, simple, direct, yet dramatic style, the thirty-three articles of the Declaration of Human Rights are so explained that boys and girls may re-

ceive a correct, general impression of the basic idea and spirit behind each article. There is an opening chapter that tells briefly of the forming of the United Nations and the part the General Assembly of the UN had in forming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

People Are Important and *A Fair World for All* are both beautifully written for young readers. The illustrations have charm and character and help the youthful reader to a fuller comprehension of the truths presented. May every boy and girl, ages nine to sixteen, read these books, and remember often the truths learned from their pages.

—Julia Totten

All About Us, by Eva Knox Evans. Capitol Pub. Co. \$2.00.

In a delightful story style *All About Us* lays sound factual foundations for the development of an unprejudiced mind. It is the story of people, where they come from, how they became what they are, and what they owe to those about them. While the book avoids a scientific dogmatism, it suggests the kinds of things that probably happened to people in the very beginning, using such family names as the Siggles and the Gogs, the Siggle-Sogs, and the Biggle-Gogs. Thus, simple humor aids in making the ideas of the story enjoyable as well as vivid. More important than anything else is the key

idea of the book—all people are important.

Scientific facts are dealt with in a fascinating conversational style. The reader becomes the author's friend. For instance, in explaining the difference in skin color, she says: "Now that you have learned two such high-sounding words you can show off. When you see a brown-skinned man walking down the street, you won't say, 'There goes a black man.' You can say (if you care to mention it at all), 'There goes a man with a lot of melanin in his skin.'"

The black-and-white sketched illustrations add greatly to the attractiveness of the book as well as to the meaning of the facts and ideas presented. Children of nine to twelve years, to whom the book is obviously addressed, are bound to be intrigued both by the pictures and the story. In many cases young people and adults will also find the book of interest and help.

Prof. Albert Einstein has written the foreword to *All About Us* and says the book will make its contribution in the "struggle for an unprejudiced attitude towards the simple and yet so often misunderstood facts of human existence." Such a book made available to our children is bound to help them to discover an understanding of people, essential to unprejudiced living and working together for a peaceful world.

—Jane Bowerman

Racial Separation in South Africa, by Eugene P. Dvorin. University of Chicago Press. \$4.50.

This book provides a calm and objective study of a problem that threatens to arouse the passions of the world. South Africa's Nationalist Party, which came to power in 1948, has embarked upon a policy of radical and systematic racial separation. Aimed at ensuring the continued supremacy of the European minority over the non-European majority, the Nationalist program—known as *apartheid*—involves the permanent division of the country into separate areas for white and black. By means of such geographic apartness, the Afrikaner, or Dutch South African, hopes to reinforce his social, economic, and political apartness.

Mr. Dvorin provides a thoughtful analysis of the various factors—historical, ideological, religious, demographic, ecological, and political—responsible for the emergence of present-day racial policy in South Africa. He asserts that, although the fundamental assumptions of *apartheid* are repugnant and intellectually inadmissible to most Americans and Europeans, the Afrikaner believes segregation has both an ethical and a logical justification. The Dutch Reformed Church, long a powerful factor in South African politics, provides a so-called “religious morality” for the whole concept of racial inequality—quoting Scripture to bol-

ster belief in white supremacy. In Africa—the last large colonial area in the world—this situation gives serious cause for anxiety to all who are concerned with human rights.

The author first became interested in South African racial problems and their political implications when, during the war, he was in South and West Africa as an officer in the United States Maritime Service.

South of Freedom, by Carl T. Rowan. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. \$3.50.

Scarcely more than a decade ago, Carl T. Rowan was one of the listless Negro youths in McMinnville, Tennessee. The fact that he finished high school had not materially changed his outlook. He still passed many hours waiting for some white man to offer him twenty-five cents an hour for an odd job—one no white person would accept. Today he is an ace reporter, the first Negro member of the staff of the Minnesota paper that employs him.

Rowan's family life in the South, his war experiences and the opportunities that grew out of them, well equip him to report on the progress of the South toward democracy during World War II, the assignment that produced this book.

The author's analysis of conditions in the South obtained from his wide travels points to the fact that segregation is almost a religion to many people in the South. The Church has difficult work ahead of it.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Emphasis on Daily Work

THE discussion of the relation of Christianity to economic life often becomes a wrangle over the good and bad features of competing economic systems. The debate seldom comes anywhere near real life, and usually clichés win the day.

A promising new approach is represented by the attention now being given in many churches to the subject of Christian responsibility in daily work. Here we face the ethical decisions men and women make in relation to all aspects of economic life. We talk about what it means to be a Christian farmer, a Christian businessman, a Christian lawyer, a Christian labor leader, a Christian housewife. We avoid becoming entangled in arguments about labor and management, state socialism, and free enterprise. The everyday relevance of Christian teachings is more clearly discerned.

This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS highlights articles dealing with this new emphasis on daily work. Related articles appear in the April-June, 1953, issue of *Crossroads*, the magazine for adults in the Presbyterian Faith and Life curriculum. The two magazines should be used to supplement each other in developing a local church program in this field, along with study materials from the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council.

Editorial Policy

OCCASIONALLY we are questioned about our policy in handling controversial subjects in SOCIAL PROGRESS.

In adopting the Committee of Seven report in 1950, the 162d General Assembly recommended "that in the discussion of controversial subjects both sides of the issues involved shall be effectively presented . . . in keeping with the Christian spirit of tolerance and fairness."

This suggestion we carefully observe whenever we deal with a "hot" subject on which our Church has taken no clear position.



In regard to the social utterances of General Assembly, the Committee of Seven report recommends that the Department of Social Education and Action bring the pronouncements to the attention of ministers and congregations "for careful study and appropriate action," and that the Department "prepare and provide interpretative literature, program suggestions, study guides, and other resources as may be necessary to give the pronouncements meaning and force in the life of the Church."

This is the "directive" that dictates the choice of nearly all articles and features in SOCIAL PROGRESS. Concerning issues on which General Assembly has spoken, we believe that our mandate is not to lead a debate but to define and interpret the positions represented in the pronouncements. On these issues it would seem that we are not free, much less required, to publish articles representing opposing positions.

An exceedingly tender issue in many churches, for example, is the use of alcoholic beverages. A great many Presbyterians are out of sympathy with the Church's repeated stand against drinking. Yet who would seriously propose that we should "fairly and effectively" present both sides of the "drink question" in SOCIAL PROGRESS? Does not similar reasoning apply to our discussion of "controversial subjects" such as racial discrimination, peacetime conscription, and the efforts of the United Nations in the field of human rights, concerning which the General Assembly has made its position clear?

You Can Help

COMMITTEES now are working on recommendations concerning General Assembly social pronouncements—1953 version. The preparation of these recommendations is a responsibility of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action, the members of which are listed on the inside of the front cover of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. The recommendations will be submitted finally to the 165th General Assembly in Minneapolis in May, where they will be used by the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action in the preparation of its report.

It is altogether proper for anyone in our great Church to suggest subjects and issues on which the General Assembly ought to pronounce. If you have any ideas, send them to us and we shall transmit them to the Counseling Committee. We especially invite sessions of local churches, presbyteries, and social education and action committees in presbyteries and synods to share

with us in the process by which the Church faces the critical social issues of the day.

Already it has been proposed that the General Assembly condemn character assassination and other unholy concomitants of the hysterical search for Communists in high places and low. The Church is urged to take a stand against the use of immoral means in affirming the worthy end of loyalty and patriotism.

Preview

THE first article in this issue, we are proud to say, is by Cameron P. Hall, Director of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Hall was formerly Secretary of the Department of Social Education and Action. He writes with authority about "The Christian—Monday Through Saturday." Dr. Hall's leadership is being felt in discussions throughout the Church of the Christian and his daily work.

The second article is by Jerry Voorhis, an address he made before the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work in Buffalo last year. Dr. Voorhis talks about Government service from the standpoint of his ten years in the House of Representatives. He is an outstanding member of the Episcopal Church and faithfully represents his Church in the National Council.

The article by Dr. George Kelsey, of Drew Seminary, on "Racial Patterns and the Churches" is truly outstanding. In this article he discusses a forgotten dimension of ecumenicity—racial inclusiveness.

The "Sanctuary" pages have been prepared by Rev. Robert Lamar of the First Presbyterian Church of Stamford, Connecticut. Mr. Lamar was secretary of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action in the last General Assembly.

In this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, we continue the series of articles on the Presbyterian program of social education and action. In the present article we discuss the role of the minister.

The National Council of Churches urges that we keep thinking and talking about the United Nations and our hopes for peace through its efforts. This we will do and encourage you to do. We launch a continuing emphasis with a magnificent statement from Bishop Henry Sherrill's address at the Denver meeting of the National Council of Churches.

—Clifford Earle

The Christian — Monday Through Saturday

By CAMERON P. HALL, *Executive Director, Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches.*

THROUGHOUT the churches one is hearing the word "first" used repeatedly in connection with a new kind of program. Sometimes it is applied to plans in the making: "This will be the first conference that . . ." Elsewhere it is used in reporting what recently happened: "We held our first meeting on . . ." There is the feeling that this is not a case of just another meeting or another conference but something that is groundbreaking.

These "firsts" refer to programs when lay people of the churches—men and women—face directly into what being a Christian requires in the occupation and daily work by which they support themselves and their families. "The Christian and His Daily Work" is how this approach to Monday-through-Saturday living is most generally put.

Watch a portion of the parade of these "firsts" dealing with this theme go by: an overnight retreat of the men of a large church on the Pacific Coast; a two-day conference by a council of churches; the annual week-end conference by a council of churches; the annual week-end conference of a denominational men's fellowship in an Eastern urban area; an evening meeting of a committee

of a council of churches with members of a local labor union on the ethical responsibilities of labor leaders; a denominational youth conference in a rural area of a Southern state; a two-day conference of the state social action committee of a large denomination with management and labor leaders taking a hard look at industrial relations in the perspective of right attitudes toward daily work.

THIS grass-roots activity is quite largely in response to the stimulus and guidance of the conference which the National Council of Churches and the Canadian Council of Churches convened. Its name was the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work, its location was Buffalo, New York, and its date was February of last year. Eighty-five per cent of the more than three hundred delegates were lay men and women each appointed by a denomination. Presbyterians were present prominently among the delegates as well as among the general and occupational group leaders.

The main results for the churches from the Buffalo conference were the corporate impact of the confer-

ence itself and the aroused enthusiasm of the delegates upon their return to their churches and communities. In addition the conference at Buffalo resulted in four pamphlets which together cover the whole range of the needs of programs on the Christian and his daily work. One of these pamphlets serves as introduction and background to the subject; another is the Buffalo conference report; a third gives "On-the-Job Dilemmas of Christian Laymen" as described in the conference speeches; and the final pamphlet elaborates topics, methods, schedules, and other aids for denominational, community, and local church programs on the theme of the conference.

The North American Lay Conference was in part a response to the call from the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches for national gatherings on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The World Council of Churches itself year in and year out has been giving leadership through ecumenical vocational groups meeting at its Institute outside of Geneva, Switzerland. Lay work abroad has been strongly marked with a Christian vocation emphasis: the Christian Frontier in Great Britain represents one type of approach, and the Evangelical Academies in Germany another. (The author was inspired by visits to eight out of eleven of these lay vocational centers in Western Germany last summer.)

THIS movement obviously encompasses the landscape of church programs: grass roots (local), tree-tops (national), and mountain summit (world). What gives the theme of the Christian and his daily work meaning, vitality, and promise?

First, it reveals the immediate relevance of the Christian faith and its principles to the concrete problems of daily living. It does not take away the significance of Sunday as it is ordinarily thought of, but it adds equal meaning and challenge to what the Christian does Monday through Saturday in earning his livelihood. Christianity is not only or primarily what "church workers" do on Sunday but rather what laymen do on Monday. It is not chiefly what the minister preaches from the pulpit, but more what the layman does at his desk, in his factory, in his barn, or in the classroom. It relates primarily not to the intentions that are stirred or the resolutions that are made in the more sheltered leisure of Sunday but to the decisions that have to be made in one's economic activities on weekdays.

Secondly, it helps bridge the gap between precept and practice, between social pronouncement and individual responsibility. In one way or another, how often have I heard some member of our churches say, "That was a fine

sermon I heard this morning, but it still left me pretty cold as to how I can tie it into the problems which I have coming up first thing this week"! Or another will put it this way: "Although I realize the importance of the statement coming out of the latest study conference or the social pronouncement of my denomination, it often seems to stop just where I have to start in my daily work." In contrast, the Christian and his daily work as a theme begins where the Christian is Monday through Saturday; it probes into the concrete situations which are inherent in his occupation in today's world of work.

Thirdly, it leads to the rediscovery of one of the central affirmations within early Protestantism. The truth that every man's work (assuming, of course, that it is socially useful) has equal worth before God is part of the continuing revolutionary character of the Protestant Reformation. Dr. John Oliver Nelson reports that "even today . . . the daily vocational life of priests and nuns and monks . . . is the only one described in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* as truly a vocation." The Reformation doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers bears down directly upon the universal worth before God of the work that men do with hand or brain.

While over the centuries this insight has never been wholly lost

sight of, it has been more implicit than explicit and at times distorted and perverted. It has been misused to give religious sanction to injustices in the *status quo*; it has been so watered down that "vocation" is now meant as the training that is provided in vocational training schools; it has been all but lost in the ravages upon the worker himself through the mechanization and impersonalization of daily work that followed in the wake of the industrial revolution; it has been so misunderstood that today "Christian vocation" is in many minds equated with "Church vocations."

But the light that searches even as it shines upon men's daily work is now being released in a new revealing and probing way.

Fourthly, it involves a sharp examination of a worker's view of life itself. What a person works for will depend ultimately on what he lives for, on what he thinks life itself is for. The meaning men find in their daily work is part of and not apart from the meaning they find in life as a whole. The value an employer attaches to the people who work under or for him is a piece with the place he gives people in his choice of what is important in life. The efficiency and conscientiousness that a worker brings in his use of the resources that he has or directs reflect to what extent he sees himself as a steward under God.

Lastly, it enlists Christian understanding and commitment for integrity, justice, and brotherhood in daily work. These are seen as major issues in the consciences of so many. The social restlessness of today rises largely from where men work to earn their livelihood. The concern over corruption in political life is related to corruption in other segments of our work life. The investigation of crime on the New York City water front reveals the tie-up of corruption in city politics with labor racketeering. Senator Paul H. Douglas in a series of lectures at Harvard University last spring declared: "On the national level there can be little doubt that the initiative . . . comes from private sources which are seeking to influence or control government. . . . This being so, it is somewhat paradoxical that public indignation should concentrate itself on the guilty public official and should leave relatively unscathed the equally guilty private corrupters. . . . It reflects a common tendency which flourishes in periods of pros-

perity to excuse businessmen for their moral dereliction and to take a sort of sadistic pleasure in singling out public men and government officials for attack and opprobrium. . . . As a matter of fact the abuses which have been exposed in the field of government are quite widespread in private business."

Similarly, the great discussion that runs through American society on fair employment practices focuses upon the work life in our communities. The tremendous social problem of industrial relations centers upon how labor and management can be constructively related in today's work life. A modern dominant drive for social and economic security is in large part an effort to capture meaning for work away from the emptiness which poverty and enforced unemployment gives it.

The Christian contribution to these social ills—discrimination, industrial group conflict, economic instability, and unethical practices—will come in large part as Christians discover and apply a new sense of what work means to God and "under God."

Solution to Overpopulation

The UN General Assembly gave thought in its last session to the problems of migration as a way of solving some of the difficulties of overpopulation and underpopulation in underdeveloped areas. It adopted a resolution calling upon member and nonmember states to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements with a view to the resettlement of emigrants without racial or religious discrimination. It also called upon voluntary organizations to assist this program for economic development.

In Government Service

By HON. JERRY VOORHIS, former Congressman from California; Executive Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.; and member of the General Committee of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

This address was presented before the North American Lay Conference on the Christian and His Daily Work, held in Buffalo in February of last year.

OUR progress in social and religious science and in human relationships has been less rapid than our scientific and technical progress. It is the obligation of every Christian in a position of government service or public trust to see that progress becomes much more rapid, for we have a great decision to make. This generation will decide whether, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, for the people" and all that it stands for is or is not going to perish from this earth.

There are forces loose in the world that are dedicated to the proposition that it shall perish from the earth. Those forces are exemplified by world Communism today, of course, but they aren't confined to that. They are present in our own country as well. They are present in every state of mind that holds in contempt any other human being or group of human beings. They are present in a distrust of the people. They are present in an attempt to get the people to

accept what is called a high standard of living for the surrender of their right to self-determination and participation in significant decisions with respect to their own lives. Freedom is threatened most by a complacency, a willingness to give up responsibility—because people don't use it.

Responsibilities of Public Servants

What is the significance of the position of the person in government service? If he is in a position of policymaking, if he is an elective official, his job as I see it, is to see that those two decisions that I've just mentioned are rightly made. If he is a government servant, a part of the great rank and file of people who carry on the public work of this nation—the postmen, and the teachers, and the clerks, and the research people, and the firemen, and the forest rangers, and all the rest of them—if he or she is of such a group, then what course for him or her? I think

it can be summed up in these words: that he or she must decide to work more efficiently and harder and with better effect for the general public interest than someone else would work for his personal gain.

It is a good deal to expect of government servants that they do that, unless at least from the Christian Church there comes clear word that there are higher motivations for people's work than the motive of material gain.

How are you to expect the average government worker to bear up under a barrage of statements that imply that the Government itself is bad even though it is a democratic constitutional government—that there's something almost dirty about it? Under those conditions would you expect him still, looking forward to no opportunity for great financial reward, to put forth his best effort, without at least the inspiration of a Christian word? Well, lots and lots of government servants do that today.

But if we believe, as we all must believe, that there is room for improvement in all levels of government service, from local to state to national, then the way to that is a greater willingness on the part of Christian people to take their part in that great work. The acid test of democracy is the integrity of the civil servant, and the integrity of the civil service, and that in the last analysis is a test of you and me.

American public life is filled with nominal Christians whose actions are determined by party affiliation or by expediency or by desire for continuance in office. But what is desperately needed is more practicing Christians in places of public trust to give their first allegiance to Christ and his gospel. The central purpose of the Christian in a position of public trust, the Christian politician, must be to create an environment of maximum opportunity for the development of Christian character and maximum encouragement of the growth of Christian relationships among people. It must be an assertion of the general common interest of people as citizens and consumers as much as it is an attempt to resolve conflicts between the people divided into various groups of producers.

Voluntary and State Action

Wherever a problem can be solved by the voluntary action of groups of people working together in mutual aid, the Christian politician will prefer that method to one that would lead instead to dependence upon a government. But where a condition exists that is unjust or that robs people, especially children, of their birthright to live and grow in hope, or that stifles and dwarfs Christian impulses, and where such a condition cannot be corrected by private action, then the Christian in a position of public trust will not be afraid to support public action to correct it.

The choices are seldom easy, seldom clear, almost never one-sided. The Christian in a position of public trust is constantly confronted with the necessity of doing the best he can and choosing the more desirable course of two or more where none is completely in accordance with his highest principles. This is unavoidable in a democratic society, where politics is necessarily the business of compromise, and always must be, since none of us can or should expect to impose our complete will upon the rest.

There are some decisions in which it would appear that God's will is pretty clear—the denial to millions of people, particularly young ones, of an opportunity to make their contribution to the welfare of their society, which is the effect of mass unemployment, is indefensible from a Christian point of view. Such a condition must not be permitted to happen again. Unless private agencies demonstrate quickly that they are able and willing to eradicate slums which stunt children's development, then some kind of public action ought to be extended until every slum is gone. Unless private agencies are prepared to provide adequate and, above all, self-respect-preserving methods of preventing dependence and destitution in old age, then the Christian politician finds himself given to support, I think, a social security program for that purpose.

Since we are committed as a nation to the principle of free public education for all the children of all the people, one of the most important services Christians can perform today is to serve on local school boards. This is the more urgent because our schools are being subjected to shortsighted, sometimes ignorant, and sometimes almost malicious attack. There is need for stout hearts and keen minds to defend, improve, and extend our schools in the promotion of their program.

If vice and crime are to be fought successfully, then Christians certainly should be at the forefront of that fight. It cannot be won by the action of private citizens alone; but in the last analysis it will be devoted public servants at the local level—yes, local politicians—who will win that fight.

The most central of the tasks that confront Christians in positions of public trust is that of removing barriers and obstacles that prevent groups of citizens from acting voluntarily to apply the principle of Christian mutual aid to the solution of their problems. Those obstacles are many and powerful. In this at least nominally Christian nation, groups of people who attempt in practical ways to apply this principle are sometimes subject to irresponsible and bitter attack. There are even laws on the statute books of some states that prevent such action by the people in some fields.

The Menace of Concentrated Power

But most important is the problem of a collectivism of power—economic power, financial power, political power, military power, power to influence thought. This kind of concentration of power reaches for complete dominance of whole areas of life by huge aggregations of power, be they public or private, and thus takes away from people the opportunity to be responsible for significant decisions as to what's going to happen to their own lives. And that's why there stands before the Christian Church today a great opportunity indeed of helping to teach people how, in groups based on the principle of voluntary mutual aid, there is found the answer to totalitarianism, the ultimate antithesis to Communism, the real way in which Christian relationships can be built among people, a standoff for concentrated power.

The Challenges to All Christians

Finally, since war, especially modern atomic war, is the denial of everything that Christ has taught us, every Christian in a position of political influence has the terrible and inescapable responsibility of working, in whatever way lies within his power and in whatever way seems to him most effective, to try to rid the world of this scourge and to establish such institutions of government

and law over all nations as will bring about a possible and enforceable peace.

Those who happen to find themselves in positions of government service at whatever level, need to remember that the degree to which they can bring to bear genuinely Christian motivation toward their jobs under difficult circumstances, under trying, bitter circumstances sometimes, will be the degree to which we have laid the groundwork for the defeat of other kinds of forces in the world. Freedom can be kept only by those who use it, and they must use it not just to make speeches, but they must use it to solve problems.

Millions of people around the world doubt that freedom is possible. They never had it; they don't understand it; what they look for is a demonstration by the ordinary rank and file of American people that it can be used practically to solve problems without resort to government.

In this day, Christian faith can be kept only by those who apply it to every phase of life, including political, who work at their religion every hour, who dare believe that even now the same sort of impact upon the entire world can be brought to bear by devoted Christians as it was upon the Roman Empire by the Christians of that time, and who thus develop a faith to live by and, it may be, a faith to die by.

The Minister's Role in Social Education and Action

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

THE key man in social education and action is the local minister. Seldom does a church go beyond his encouragement and leadership in dealing with social issues.

Most ministers are reasonably alive to their responsibility in this phase of the Church's witness. They need no help in discerning the everyday relevance of Christian truths and the practical meaning of Christian ideals. They feel that the Church ought to do something about the social forces that bear upon the lives of people, that often make it hard for men and women to be the kind of persons God wants them to be. Rarely does one find a clergyman today who says that community problems are no concern of the churches.

More than Preaching

It is not surprising that many ministers think of their social action role primarily in terms of preaching. Sermons are important, and we wish that every minister's preaching would give due and timely emphasis to the social dimension of the Christian gospel. Prophetic preaching has

been a great stimulus for Christian action.

But not often. At least not often in terms of immediate and direct outcome. Preachers are sorely tempted to overestimate the power of preaching to produce action, or even to change minds on social questions. When a preacher girds and delivers himself in denunciation of social iniquity, it is often a moving experience for himself alone. The people who hear him may applaud his courage and approve his idealism, but nothing happens.

We need to know much more than we do about how social attitudes are formed and changed, and how people are stirred to act. We do know that sermons are not enough. Still they are the minister's unique opportunity for social witness.

On the whole, "concerned" preaching is best when it is not obvious. That is, repeated references to the social application of the gospel in sermons that are not addressed specifically to social issues are perhaps more effective, and carry people farther than occasional homilies about the social responsibilities of

Christians. Indeed, some outstanding leaders in this field seldom preach "social action" sermons.

Community Outreach

Sometimes a minister feels that he nobly fulfills his responsibility in social action when he takes part in community fund campaigns, serves on hospital boards, acts now and then as chaplain for the city council, helps to mediate a strike, accepts a committee assignment in the P.T.A., speaks to the Rotary Club, and leads a delegation to call on the mayor. We are all for this sort of extracurricular activity.

Ministers may be expected to give their encouragement and help to worthy "social action" causes—movements and organizations with goals similar to those of the churches in such fields as race relations, housing, civic righteousness, world order, economic justice, human rights, and temperance. Participation in these causes is proper so long as there is no compromise of the Church's witness and no embarrassing associations. A contemporary example would be a movement to end racial discrimination in a municipal hospital sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, well known for its Red connections. The cause is worthy, but a minister would do well to withhold endorsement until a more acceptable sponsor appears.

This caution business, of course, can be carried too far. One should

take care in giving support to reform movements, but to be overly cautious may amount to putting one's influence on the side of the devil. Many churchmen are known for their Christian discretion and discrimination in encouraging worthy causes. To see their names on a list of sponsors is assurance of an activity's worthiness and importance.

Not infrequently, however, a clergyman with a reputation for community leadership in Christian social action does a disappointing job in his own church. Perhaps he conceives his social action role primarily in terms of secular relationships outside the church. Perhaps he does not recognize the rich possibilities for social education and action in the ongoing program of the church.

Church Officers

No group in the church is more important for the minister to carry with him in his interest in social action than the officers—elders, deacons, trustees. He can, for one thing, encourage the selection of church officers who represent a variety of occupational interests and political points of view. Nothing is more deadening than a lack of diversity in social outlook among members of a church board. The minister can also plan the agenda of officers' meetings, so as to include a training period with appropriate attention to the social concerns of the church.

Church officers often express

happy amazement when they hear for the first time that the Church is trying to do something about many of the tough problems in community and national life. This is an aspect of the Church's program concerning which church officers ought to be deeply concerned and fully informed. But how can they be so unless the ministers tell them and help them to understand?

Especially significant in this connection are the social pronouncements of the General Assembly. These pronouncements always receive attention from the press. They are published in *SOCIAL PROGRESS* and in *Presbyterian Life*, usually in June or early July every year. By September they are available in pamphlet form for distribution among officers and other key persons in local churches. Many ministers make the pronouncements the subject of careful study in session meetings, or in joint meetings of elders, deacons, and trustees. The men may disagree with some of the positions taken by the Church in General Assembly actions. That is their privilege. All the more, it is important for them to appraise the pronouncements and to weigh the pros and cons of the Church's positions.

The session of a church in the Middle West annually prepares a digest of selected General Assembly pronouncements along with supporting actions of its own and resolutions about local issues. This "social

action report" is read from the pulpit and implemented in the church's program.

Program Counseling

Another key group of leaders in the church are the men and women who are involved in the ongoing program—Sunday church school leaders, officers of various organizations for men and women, advisers in the youth program, members of divers church committees. These people, too, ought to be convinced and informed regarding the social concerns of the Church. The minister will want to give them about the same treatment he gives the church officers in relation to social education and action. The General Assembly's social pronouncements, for example, can be distributed among them and discussed in a church-wide workers' conference.

It is the minister's unique opportunity to advise the leaders with regard to the social education and action phases of the church's program. Much can happen to make this emphasis vital if the minister gives the right kind of encouragement and counseling.

The program materials provided by the Church for youth and adult groups, as well as in the Faith and Life curriculum, give a great deal of attention to applied Christianity. The minister can help the responsible leaders to see the importance of these materials and to make appro-

priate selections and adaptations in the light of local conditions. He can assist in recruiting resource leaders when specialized subjects are discussed. When the program moves from study to action, the minister's leadership is indispensable.

Often the minister is in a position to know about meetings and conferences of various kinds relating to the social concerns of the Church. He will urge the leaders of his church who are most concerned with these events to attend and take part. To the minister's desk come many communications and a great deal of printed matter relating to social action. Much of this material can be passed on to persons carrying responsibilities in the church's program. Key leaders in the church, including members of the church boards, should be encouraged to read **SOCIAL PROGRESS**.

The SEA Committee

The minister will see the importance of imbedding social education and action in the church's program of Christian education. This can best be accomplished by setting up a social education and action subcommittee within the Christian education committee of the church. Where there is no Christian education committee, the SEA committee should

be related directly to the session.

Usually an elder will be chairman. Members will be the leaders who carry responsibility for this emphasis in the various organizations—the social education and action secretary of the women's association, the Christian citizenship chairman of the youth group, the civic righteousness representative in the men's organization, and so on. To the committee may be added other persons in the church who have interests and skills in this field such as a social studies teacher in the local high school, a social worker, a member of Alcoholics Anonymous, a labor leader, a Y.W.C.A. secretary.

With the minister always encouraging and helping, these leaders will study their function as a committee, discover what is happening in the church in relation to social education and action, recommend ways of strengthening this phase of the program, provide whatever resources and leadership may be required. They will think of social education and action not as a separate emphasis but as a normal part of the church's program.

The constant purpose will be to help everyone in the church to be a "complete disciple of Christ," sensitive and alert in relating religion to every area of life.

This is the fourth in a series on the church and Christian social responsibility: (1) "Why Christians Are Concerned About the World," appeared in September, 1952, (2) "Social Education in the Local Church," November, and (3), "Social Education in Your Presbytery," January, 1953.

The Christian

Questions A

OUR daily work is about the most important thing in our lives—at least from the standpoint of the time and energy we give to it. Our daily work also is the area of life in which most of us have the hardest time expressing our Christian beliefs and ideals. We know that religion is supposed to be effective seven days a week, yet we find that it is far from easy to be Christian in our daily occupations.

Here are some questions a Christian may well ask himself about his daily work, whether in shop or office or classroom or field or kitchen.

Is my work worth-while?

Does my work help to make life better for people?

Can I be proud of my work?

Is there anything I can do to make my job more useful?

What is the main purpose of my occupation?

To what extent is this purpose in accord with Christian ideals?

Does my job satisfy my desire to be a success?

What is my idea of success?

What is the basis of success in my work?

What can I do to help make the benefits of my occupation accessible to all who need them regardless of race or income?

What opportunities does my job offer for furthering human rights, economic justice, freedom of speech and association, world peace?

Do I ever have to water down my moral standards to suit my occupation?

Have I ever been forced to sacrifice in order to stick by my Christian ideals?

Do I find that in my work honesty is always the best policy?

Am I a better Christian than I was five, ten, fifteen years ago?

Does my work give me free time for hobbies, family fun, reading?

s Daily Work

Occupation

Does my work make it possible for me to take part in church and community activities?

Does my work give me a chance to grow?

Does my work permit me to live among congenial neighbors in a community that provides the things I want for my family?

Do I ever use my authority over others in such a way as to take advantage of them?

Do I ever shut off free expression to avoid criticism?

Do I ever blame others for my own mistakes?

Do I fear or resent another person's authority over me?

Am I afraid of carrying responsibility?

Is there anything about my job that makes me afraid of being myself, especially when I think or act differently from others?

Does my job ever discriminate against a person on the basis of race, color, sex, or religion?

Do I have opportunity to affect policy in these matters?

Do I have congenial relationships with my fellow workers?

Are human relationships at my place of occupation on a truly democratic basis?

Do I have a voice in determining conditions of employment for myself and my fellow workers?

Does my work give me a chance to express my religion?

Can I feel that in my work I am doing what God wants me to do?

Is there anything in my work that helps me to understand the Christian faith better?

Racial Patterns and the Churches

By GEORGE D. KELSEY, *Associate Professor of Christian Ethics, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey.* Excerpts from an article in *Theology Today*, April, 1952. Used by permission.

DURING the early part of this century it was realized that the ecumenical movement could not go forward if questions of faith and order were indefinitely avoided. These, it was felt, must be faced, and differences as well as similarities and identities understood.

More recently, we have come to understand that there are certain nontheological factors that stand as barriers to ecumenicity. Among these, racism is perhaps the most perplexing at the present time.

So far as American Christianity is concerned, it may be said that our distinctive moral and spiritual problem lies precisely in the field of racial ideology and practice. The doctrine and practice of white supremacy are deeply rooted in American culture. The relationship between Negro and white people in America is identified as a caste system. "A man born a Negro or a white is not allowed to pass from one status to the other as he can pass from one class to another. In this important respect the caste system of America is closed and rigid, while the class system is, in a measure, always open and mo-

bile" (from *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal; I, p. 668).

The churches are deeply involved in the practices, standards, and values of the secular culture. It may be said that in the task of lifting the relationships between Negroes and white people to the plane of relations between persons of equal dignity, American Christianity is a colossal failure. Even at this late date Negroes and white people who do not allow their color to serve as a determinant of their relationships are rare. Sensitive American Christians sometimes question whether the Church really can be a resource of interracial reform.

Many church people have fallen victim to the widespread error of identifying race prejudice with mere expressions of personal preference. That is, when race is being discussed, someone often will volunteer some such verdict on prejudice as the following: "Well, after all, don't people have a right to their personal preferences? Is it not true that some people prefer blondes over brunettes or slender people over

stout people? Similarly, people have a right to prefer white people over black people." It does not occur to those who hold to this point of view that such preferences are normally expressed only in the narrow field of romance, and politics and economics are never organized on their basis. On the contrary, race prejudice is thoroughly an intergroupal phenomenon. It does not arise or persist in the realm of interpersonal relations where preferences are expressed. It is a sentiment of contempt for and repudiation of a whole group of people without qualification and exception.

We have seen that the institutional structure of the churches is greatly affected by the racial pattern. It must now be observed that the doctrine of the Church is also affected. It is commonly conceded that the Protestant doctrine of the Church is still in process of formation. Those who insist on defending the racial exclusiveness of the churches base their justification on a wholly sociological view of the Church. If the Church means to them the Body of Christ and the gift of God, it ceases to do so when the question of racially inclusive churches is raised. For they immediately begin to speak of the church in terms of an association of men with common loyalties, interests, and aspirations. In short, in the arguments and behavior of the defenders of racial exclusiveness the

church is little more than a social club.

In many American cities and sections of cities where Protestants were formerly a minority they have become a majority by virtue of an influx of Negroes. But this new situation is not viewed as an opportunity; rather, it is generally viewed as a disaster and a source of embarrassment for white Protestants. Following the pattern of residents abandoning houses in the wake of a Negro neighborhood advance, the churches sell their buildings to Negroes and move on to "success" in a white neighborhood. The idea of the church as servant of the community in which it finds itself is evidently not even considered.

When the defenders of racial exclusiveness are called upon to justify their position they usually reply that "the Negroes are happier with their own people." What has happened to the thought and feeling of such churchmen can be briefly summarized. First, they are the victims of a moral blindness which causes them to appeal to the consequences of a caste system as a justification for its continuance. Secondly, they treat their churches as social clubs and abandon the essentially Christian criterion for membership in the Body of Christ, which is the acceptance of Christ as one's Saviour.

The Lord always had his "seven thousand in Israel, all the knees

which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." The "seven thousand" in America who have not bowed a knee to the idol god of racism are those white and Negro churchmen who believe that God is the Creator-Father of all men, that men are therefore creature-brothers, and that God has established his Church, the Body of Christ, as the agency through which men without discrimination become his spiritual sons and enter into the way of salvation.

The overwhelming power of the caste system puts the "seven thousand" at a decided disadvantage. In many situations they cannot live as the Spirit dictates to them, that is, as though race absolutely did not count. Rather they are forced by the pressure of the historical situation to engage in various conscious and deliberate efforts at creating brotherhood and making the church inclusive. Their efforts are summarized as follows:

1. *In neighborhoods* that are in the process of transition from all-white to all-Negro constituency they seek to make the churches interracial by taking in the new residents. These churches tend to reflect the same pattern as the neighborhood.

2. *A few churches* have been started as interracial. These divide into two types: (a) "the church established as interracial with the purpose of challenging the prevailing pattern of segregation and with the

further purpose of helping other churches to become interracial. . . . They tend to be self-consciously interracial" (S. Garry Oniki in "Interracial Churches in American Protestantism," *Social Action*, January, 1950, p. 7); (b) "the church established as interracial to meet the needs of a community which is interracial in its composition. The primary concern of members of this type is to serve the constituency without regard to race" (*ibid.*).

3. *In spite of* the heavy weight of the caste system, the exponents of brotherhood across racial lines have been able to make a few old and well-established churches inclusive.

4. *Interracial religious* fellowships "have grown up as institutions subsidiary to regular churches with the purpose of giving people of different racial and religious backgrounds an opportunity to worship together if they desire and with the further intent of helping the existing churches to become interracial" (*ibid.*, p. 9).

In these few souls the power of the gospel to break down any wall of partition is manifest. It is they, and many others like them around the world, who constitute the truly ecumenical Church. This is a world Church, not merely because of geographical extent, but because of the inner quality of its life. It is the Church that is the Body of Christ because Christ is its head, its members joined together by love.

Sanctuary

WHERE THE CHURCH MEETS THE WORLD

Call to Worship:

"I . . . beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called."—*Eph. 4: 1.*

Invocation:

O God, who hast called us into our several and divers callings, and who desirest faithfulness in our work as in our worship: grant that our daily labor may be not only honorable, but dedicated; not only useful, but good; not only rewarding, but full of love. Inspire us and enable us to fashion our whole lives in the manner of Him who labored as thy Son in all his days. And in his name we pray. Amen.

Hymn: "Take Thou Our Minds, Dear Lord, We Humbly Pray."

Scripture: Matthew 25: 14-30.

Excerpts from the North American Law Conference Message, February, 1952:

The true church is a Christian fellowship of laymen and ministers, working together with God to build a better world. As laymen, we now recognize the heavy responsibility on us because in our daily work we are able to reach people in every area of life. . . . It is one thing to work at a job. It is something more to meet the Christian standards of workmanship. Life is a serious business, and living it as a Christian is hard, but deeply satisfying. God requires of us:

1. That we work in partnership with him and in accordance with his laws.
2. That we work unselfishly for the good of our fellow man.
3. That as members of the Church we continue to search our minds and hearts as we seek in our work to live up to the standards that Christ taught us.

With the help of God and the Christian fellowship, we are determined, as individuals and groups in our various occupations, to work out and

apply these Christian principles in our daily work, with full recognition of the cost. We call upon all laymen to join us in this task.

Hymn: "The Light of God Is Falling."

"The light of God is falling Upon life's common way;
The Master's voice still calling, 'Come, walk with Me today':
No duty can seem lowly To him who lives with Thee,
And all of life grows holy, O Christ of Galilee!"

Meditation:

Basic assumptions:

- The Church meets the world primarily where church people perform their daily work.
- Most modern men and women have never learned or have lost the meaning of their daily work as a vocation under God.
- Perhaps the most important task of the contemporary Church is to open up, reinterpret, and transform the daily work of modern man, and in so doing take a long step toward the transformation of the very society wherein modern man does his work.

The relevant doctrine:

- The meaning of vocation is central to the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.
- This vigorous Reformation conviction, contrary to what most moderns think, does not teach an individuality which supposes that a man can get along by himself in religious things with no help from anyone else.
- Rather, every Christian, in his vocation, is a priest of God, and the Church is at work where he is at work, and if in his daily work he is not trying and learning how to be a priest of God, then he cannot and will not be a priest of God anywhere else.

The challenge:

- I beg you, therefore, to live lives worthy of your high calling, so that as you go about your daily business, you are related not just to things and plans and projects and profits, but to a living Person, and through him to the living persons of the world who are affected by your vocation.

Benediction.

—Prepared by Robert C. Lamar, Assistant Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Connecticut; Member, 1952 General Assembly Standing Committee on Social Education and Action.

Christian ACTION

THE UNITED NATIONS AND GOD'S DESIGN

After seven trying years, the United Nations is still the world's best road to peace and justice. It is a fresh symbol in our generation of man's ancient dream of a community in which none will be afraid. The UN is an open door to co-operation and peaceful change. It is a forum where sixty nations of the earth can face their differences in an atmosphere of sovereign equality and mutual respect.

But the UN is more than a symbol of man's hope, more than an instrument of peaceful change. It is even now an organization with a proud record of solid achievements. The UN has stopped three local wars. It is resisting naked aggression in Korea. Through its allied agencies it has carried on a vast ministry of mercy throughout the earth and is doing much to strengthen the economic and social fabric of the world community.

The UN has not ended the cold war, but for years it has been the only place where there is steady diplomatic contact between the Soviet and the free worlds. Because the UN has not brought peace some critics are saying that it has already failed.

These critics do not understand what the UN is. They fail to recognize that it is not a magic formula that will solve the world's problems, but only ourselves. The UN can go only as far as its sovereign members are willing to go. The successes of the UN are our successes, and its failures are our failures. Today more than ever before the UN needs the wholehearted support of the United States.

Likewise the United States needs the UN. We need the UN, not only as an avenue of co-operation with other nations, but as an instrument to help translate America's great power into morally responsible behavior. Just as no nation is strong enough politically to go it alone, no nation is good enough or wise enough to chart its own course without the moral restraint of other nations. Countries possessing great power are always tempted to use that power with little consideration for the interests and rights of other peoples. In the UN, American policy can be refined and made more responsible to the world community by subjecting it to the criticism and judgment of other nations.

God judges and guides our nation and all nations through the restraint of other powers as well as by our co-operation with them. As Christians we support the UN as a mighty instrument of God's judgment and grace in the world of nations. We pray that God may use the United Nations, our own Govern-

ment, and each one of us in the supreme task of transforming man's disorder into His design.

—*The Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, President, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

It is suggested that presbyteries and local churches approve Bishop Sherrill's message and perhaps publish it, or a statement prepared by their own committee in their local newspapers and church bulletins.

UN NEWS NOTES

The General Assembly adjourned December 20 and resumed its work in February as there were many items on the agenda that had not been finished, and not much more could be done about Korea, although the delegates had struggled long and hard to find some formula to effect an armistice. India had taken a leading role in what seemed close to a hopeful solution. Disappointment over Korea should not lead to the conclusion that nothing good was done in the Assembly or that the work of the UN for peoples has not advanced. A record of the Assembly's work can be secured from the *United Nations Bulletin*, copies of which may be had at most libraries.

Two areas of conflict have been long before the Assembly—South Africa and Togoland. Inasmuch as

the churches are studying "Africa" and "Human Rights" this year, our readers will have special interest in this effort toward advancement. Almost no progress has been made regarding South Africa. That country believes that the Union's policies of *apartheid* (discrimination and segregation of racial character) are an internal matter over which the UN has no jurisdiction. The fact that the Assembly has several times taken action urging the Government of the Union of South Africa to change its policy proves that the greater number of members think it is a problem affecting the peace of the world. A commission to study the racial situation was appointed and the Governments of the Union, India, and Pakistan again urged to co-operate. The question will be on the agenda of the next session. It takes time to work out these old and

difficult problems in the light of the new principles in the charter of the United Nations.

Togoland has been before the Assembly since 1947. The Ewe people, the largest tribe in the two West Africa trust territories, are divided in British and French Togoland and the Gold Coast Colony, and have desired unification. As a result of findings in the Trusteeship Council, advancement has been made in changing some of the conditions that made the Ewes unhappy. The administering authorities agree to work for some form of unification, but as yet have not come to agreement on any one plan. Three main views are expressed: unification under UN administration with the object of early independence; unification under French administration with progress in the French Union; unification in association with the Gold Coast Colony with ultimate self-government within the Commonwealth of Great Britain. Meanwhile education is steadily advancing, and the people will be more ready for whatever action is taken. The United Nations Visiting Mission made an excellent report and emphasized the development of such democratic indigenous institutions as would enable the people to choose their own political associations, and also urged the administering authorities to provide opportunities for co-operation even while the tribe was separated by political boundaries.

March, 1953

Independence brings many problems. Since World War II, eight countries have achieved independence. Aided by the UN, Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, though actual sovereignty did not come until December, 1949. Potentially rich in natural resources, it has been a very poor country. Ambassador L. N. Palar says that his country's contribution in the UN is "to fight for peace with ideas. Help can come through foreign investment, foreign know-how, but not foreign exploitation. Since independence, the Government has reduced illiteracy from 92 to 60 per cent, but the people are crying for more adult education." Here is perhaps a chance for voluntary groups to help, as there is need for paper, pencils, textbooks, and, above all, for the knowledge that individuals and groups in more advanced countries understand and want to help a gallant neighbor.

Pakistan is only six years old. It was found that only seventeen per cent of the men are literate and one per cent of the women. Even so, the new Government gave full franchise to both men and women without property or literacy qualifications. Begum Liaquat Ali Kahn, delegate to the UN Assembly, has been one of the leaders in the effort to meet the economic and social problems of the new state. She served on the Humanitarian and Social Commission and always spoke with under-

standing of her own country's problems but with understanding of the struggles of all underdeveloped peoples.

Madame Kahn organized the All Pakistan Women's Association to enlist and train women to help the new Government to meet the eco-

nomie demands, both internal and external, to overcome illiteracy, bad housing, bad health. This is no small task in a land of age-old opposition to women's activities outside the home.

—*Mabel Head, Observer at the United Nations.*

SHOULD I RUN FOR CONGRESS?

The answer to the question could be governed by the decision to be made. Quite a few factors entered into the decision as to whether I should run for the Congress of the United States.

One Friday morning in March of 1952, I had returned to my office in Philadelphia after a week spent in making business calls in three states. A long-distance call was awaiting me from a businessman in Bethlehem. He told me that twenty business and professional men wanted me to run for Congress on the Republican ticket. I had just become established in business after being released from the U.S. Navy, and felt I could not accept the challenge. My friend told me of the wish of the group to have a Christian businessman represent them and asked me to postpone my decision until I had had time to give it further consideration.

My wife and I discussed the matter, talked with several friends, and prayed as we went about searching for the answer. The minister who

married us, a business friend, and my physician were among those who urged me to run in the interest of my long-held theory that Christian businessmen should be active in the nation's capital.

Even though I talked with others to help make my decision, I was persuaded within myself by arguments and statements that I had used before. Sometime earlier a group of men met in the First Presbyterian Church of Bethlehem to discuss the book *God and the Nations*, prepared by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. That is where the seed of Christianity in action was born in my thinking.

It seemed that this invitation from my business and professional friends might well be such a call to Christian action. So my decision was made. "Lord, if you want me to run, I will. I shall not pray to win, but to be willing to say, 'Thy will be done.'"

I did not win the election, nor did I lose by much, but I was willing to

run and leave the results to my Lord. People wrote, phoned, and spoke of my conducting a "clean campaign." It was, in a sense, Chris-

tianity in action. "Yes, Lord, thy will be done."

—*J. Russell Craig, member, First Presbyterian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.*

PROGRESS IS BEING MADE

While there is still a great deal of improvement to be made before the Church's goal of "a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society" can be reached, it is encouraging to note the advances made in the several states toward nondiscrimination in housing. The Racial Relations Service of the Government's Housing and Home Finance Agency reports the following progress. Space prohibits a complete digest of all the states and cities included and of all the provisions within each state and city. A complete report may be ordered from the agency mentioned, Washington, D. C.

Statutory Provisions

Connecticut—Public Act No. 291, July, 1949. All persons within the jurisdiction of this state shall be entitled to full and equal accommodations in every place of public accommodation, resort, or amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all persons; and any denial of such accommodation by reason of race, creed, or color of the applicant therefor shall be a vio-

lation of the provisions of this section.

Illinois—Senate Bill No. 548, July, 1947. No deed of conveyance either by the Commission or any subsequent owner shall contain a covenant running with the land or other provision prohibiting occupancy of the premises by any person because of race, creed, or color.

New Jersey—Senate Bill 178, March, 1950. An act to authorize housing authorities to clear blighted areas and prevent blight; to acquire real property and to make it available for redevelopment by private enterprise or by public agencies in accordance with approved redevelopment plans. . . . For all the purposes of the act to which this act is a supplement, no person shall because of race, religious principles, color, national origin, or ancestry be subject to any discrimination.

New York—Public Housing, Chapter 287, March, 1950. An act to amend the civil rights law, in relation to prohibiting discrimination and segregation because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry in housing accommodations acquired, constructed, re-

paired, or maintained, in whole or in part, with the assistance or support of the state or any of its political subdivisions.

Pennsylvania—Public Housing and Urban Redevelopment Act 493, May, 1949. There shall be no discrimination against any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin in the rental or occupancy of any housing constructed under the provisions of this act.

City Ordinances

Cincinnati—Urban Redevelopment Policy, September, 1951. That no private developer of a project area shall be permitted to establish or practice any method of restricting or limiting the sale, rental, or occupancy of dwellings in the redeveloped area for any reasons other than the financial means of the applicant or such standards and qualifications as may be applied to all persons or families irrespective of race, religion, or ancestry.

Los Angeles—Ordinance 97536, January, 1951. It is determined that it is desirable that tentative plans and redevelopment plans submitted to the council for approval contain adequate provisions prohibiting direct or indirect discrimination against, or segregation of, any person or group of persons based upon race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry, in connection with the sale, lease, sublease, transfer, use, occupancy, tenure, or enjoyment of

any land in a redevelopment project.

New York City—Local law 41, section W, March, 1951. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the city to assure equal opportunity to all residents to live in decent, sanitary, and healthful living quarters, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry, in order that the peace, health, safety, and general welfare of all the inhabitants of the city may be protected and insured.

Philadelphia—Resolution Public Housing 3630, May, 1952. There shall be no discrimination or segregation in the selection of tenants, the fixing of rentals, conditions of occupancy, or in the construction, maintenance, and operation of any housing project because of race, color, creed, religion, or national origin.

Pontiac, Michigan—Resolution Public Housing 589, December, 1943. That all public housing projects or programs developed and operated in the City of Pontiac must be open for occupancy without distinction as to creed, race, color, religion, or national origin. A later resolution was adopted in November of 1951 setting forth eight additional provisions in support of Pontiac's nondiscriminatory policy.

SEA chairmen and secretaries can help to further this progress by getting their committees to study the laws of their own community.

★ *Citizenship* ★

CONGRESS BEGINS ITS WORK

✕ With President Eisenhower's state of the union message out of the way, Capitol Hill is beginning to hit its stride.

There are evidences that a new era is beginning in the relationship between Congress and the White House. The new President gives every indication of believing that the two should work as a cooperative team, and Congress seems to recognize and appreciate his attitude. Several small luncheons at the White House for various Congressional leaders have served to point up this fact, and there are intimations that this may become a standard practice. The present atmosphere, if it continues, bids well for the success of the President's program.

The definite and welcome religious emphasis in the new Administration has been noted on the "Hill." As the Senate chaplain wrote, "This new 'under God' consciousness is gripping our leaders." Early in February a "prayer" breakfast for members of Congress and Administration leaders had an attendance of over four hundred, including the President.

As we go to press, the President's regular Monday morning conference with Congressional leaders has brought forth the announcement that a definite legislative program

has been agreed upon by Congress and the White House. As announced by Senate Majority Leader Taft, the schedule will include: (1) reorganization of the executive departments and agencies, (2) amendments to the Taft-Hartley Law, (3) statehood for Hawaii, (4) limited extension of some controls and allocation of scarce materials, (5) extension of social security benefits, (6) extension of Federal aid to schools in critical areas, (7) extension of reciprocal trade agreements, and (8) legislation assuring tidelands oil reserves to the states. It was also agreed to have all major appropriation bills out of the House and ready for Senate action by May 15 and to plan for Congressional adjournment not later than July 3. Senator Taft said that this list was not to be considered "exclusive" and added that other subjects were discussed and "will be pressed to a conclusion later."

The current legislative picture contains the following items of interest:

Government Reorganization

Both Houses have passed and sent to the White House a bill giving the President the same powers to reorganize the executive branch of the government as were held by Mr. Truman. The authority would ex-

tend to April 1, 1955. The bill provides that any plans to create new executive departments or reorganize old ones would be submitted to Congress by the President and would become law unless disapproved within sixty days by either House by an absolute majority vote (49 in the Senate, 218 in the House).

Taft-Hartley Amendments

Early in February, the House Labor Committee opened what it described as "a long series of hearings" on this law. First witnesses scheduled were a number of members of Congress advocating everything from minor changes to outright repeal. They were to be followed by the Secretary of Labor, officials of the N.L.R.B., other Government authorities, and all other interested groups. Chairman McConnell (R., Pa.) has announced that the committee wants to get the views and recommendations of all those interested in the legislation, and then they hope to draft a bill containing amendments based on the testimony.

F E P C

A bipartisan group of nineteen Senators has introduced a bill (S. 692) which would set up a seven-member commission, appointed by the President with Senate consent, to be known as the Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission. The measure makes provision for a maximum use of educational

programs, with emphasis on voluntary processes, and calls for a "minimum" of enforcement provisions. Senator Ives (R., N. Y.) and Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.) are the bill's chief sponsors.

Cloture (Filibusters)

Senator Jenner (R., Ind.), chairman of the Rules Committee, has introduced a bill (S. Res. 20) which provides that (1) the votes of two thirds of the members *present* rather than two thirds of the *entire* membership would be required to adopt a cloture motion, and (2) a five-day period must elapse between filing and voting on a cloture motion. This latter provision would allow time for any member to get back to vote.

Immigration

Congressman Celler (D., N. Y.), ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, has introduced a bill (H.R. 2076) which provides for a three-year emergency immigration program to admit 328,000 Europeans to the United States. Similar legislation proposed by President Truman was not acted upon in the last session of Congress, but Congressman Celler points out the urgency of action at this time due to the current refugee emergency in western Germany.

—Helen Lineweaver

Correction

Feb. issue, p. 21, col. 1, line 38, read: *Opponents*, not *Proponents*.

About Books

Christianity and the Class Struggle, by Abraham Kuyper. Piet Hein Publishers. \$1.00.

This slim little sixty-four-page book presents a translation of the opening address delivered at the First Christian Social Congress, in 1891, by the noted Dutch Calvinist theologian, Abraham Kuyper, who long dominated the history of the Netherlands. He was the "great commoner" in Dutch politics.

Although delivered sixty years ago, this message on "The Christian Religion and the Social Question" is most pertinent for our day of "class struggle."

Dr. Kuyper relates the stand taken for social justice by many church leaders, yet confesses that Christians as a whole have done all too little about social problems. He shows how in the salvation through Jesus Christ lies the power, and in the Word of God the guides, to a better social life.

In a brief introduction is given a summary of the teaching of Christianity, which is in its essence also the social philosophy of Calvinism in America. "Christianity teaches that mankind is really one family, made from one blood and created in

the image of God, that all should work together to satisfy human needs, in common obedience to the ordinances of Him who created all and controls all. This provides the only acceptable basis on which social problems can really be solved."

Here is stimulating help for social education and action.

—Harvey E. Holt

The United States in World Affairs, 1951, by Richard P. Stebbins. Harper & Brothers. \$5.00.

In this sixth volume in the new postwar series of the Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Stebbins brings to laymen and scholars a vivid picture of America's ever-increasing awareness of its position as the great power of the free world. In the introduction, Mr. Henry Wriston states: "This volume has a unique place in the current literature of international affairs; it makes a comprehensive review of a limited period of time in our foreign relations. Its central purpose is to bring events into an adequate perspective so that their relationship to one another is clarified. Thus it fulfills a function which no other annual volume dealing with international problems seeks to do."

Man's Most Dangerous Myth,
by M. F. Ashley Montagu. Harper
& Brothers. \$5.00.

This book is designed to expose the most dangerous myth of our age, the myth of "race," by demonstrating the falsities of which it is compounded. It reviews scientific facts to show *why* race theories are a myth and then explains *how* the race myth came to be created.

The author points out that there are numerous differences between ethnic groups in many bodily traits, but the facts carefully recorded in the book make it clear that these differences constitute the proof of the fundamental unity of mankind.

Professor Montagu recommends education and enlightened action as the only method of dispelling this dangerous myth in our society. By learning to understand the nature of insignificant differences, the author states, "we shall then be happier in their presence and find them in every way as acceptable as we do those which exist within our own immediate group."

Isolation and Alliances: An American Speaks to the British, by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown and Company (An Atlantic Monthly Press Book). \$1.50.

In this brief book, the author analyzes the fundamental change in American foreign policy that has occurred since 1940.

As Mr. Lippmann sees the situation, there have been two major phases in the development of our foreign policy. The first phase, a period of isolation, lasted until the beginning of the Second World War, during which time we were uprooting the European powers from our land and slowly settling and unifying our newly developed territory. Since 1945, alliances have become fundamental in our foreign policy. The defense and security of free Europe have become essential to our national safety, making isolation a thing of the past.

After an analysis of these two eras, Mr. Lippmann suggests methods for solving the problem of the consolidation of Europe.

Our EASTER PLAYS and PAGEANTS

Will increase the reverence and the inspirational value of your Easter Service in Church or School.

The Shadow of the Cross: by Aileen Sargent, dramatic and impressive. 5 main char., chorus and tableaux.	35c
The Dawning: Wonderful pageant of the Resurrection of Jesus by Lyman R. Bayard.	50c
The Questioner: Bayard	50c
The Holy Sepulchre: Bayard	50c
The Tidings: Bayard	50c
Into Galilee: Bayard	35c
Print of the Nails: Davis	50c
When Christ Arose: Parsons	35c
The Children's Vision: Bates	40c
Stone Against the Heart:	35c
The Quest: Easter Service:	25c
Challenge of the Cross: Marsh	50c

Send 10 cents each for loan copies of pageants you wish to examine. Return in 10 days or remit balance of price. Full amount sent for samples is deductible at the rate of 10c per copy actually purchased. Write for catalogue for Easter and Children's Day.

PAGEANT PUBLISHERS

Dept. E-5, P. O. Box 306,
West Los Angeles 25, Calif.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Brain Washing – American Version

AN IMPRISONED missionary in Red China was accused of having operated a short-wave radio. Questions were hurled at him: It was black? It was so big? You hid it in a certain room? The room had green walls? The table was so high? In all this you were serving Western imperialism?

Every few hours, day and night for many long weeks, the inquisition went on. The jailers, working in relays, repeated the same questions over and over again. At last the fatigue-drugged missionary began to believe that there had been such a room, that he had used a short-wave set exactly as the Communists suggested, that he had indeed betrayed the people. He signed a "confession" and only later was persuaded by his friends that the "facts" could not possibly have been true.

This is a vicious phase of a process we call "brain washing." The Communists of China have developed it to a cruel art.

But the process is not entirely a Communist device. A subtle American version of "brain washing" may be discerned in the handling of sensitive issues in many newspapers.

Certain papers, for example, are shamefully dishonest in reporting the United Nations. They treat with virtual silence the fine work of UN agencies and the courageous actions of the UN General Assembly. They keep dinning the failures of the Security Council, the exasperating behavior of the Soviet delegates, the futility of many UN efforts in applying small remedies to large problems. Editorials and news stories alike are often slanderous of our participation in the UN and its agencies.

People who rely on these newspapers for information about national and world affairs are bound to be "brain washed" of any notions that the United Nations is the world's best hope for peace and deserves our devoted support.

This matter was bravely expounded by Mr. Stevenson in a non-political speech to newspaper editors in Portland last September. He said: "We need to be rededicated every day to the unfinished



task of keeping our press truly free. . . . The press cannot condemn demagoguery, claptrap, distortion, and falsehoods in politicians and public life on the one hand and practice the same abuses on the public themselves, on the other. . . . Let's not forget that the free press is the mother of all our liberties and of our progress under liberty."

As citizens of a free democracy, we have the right to expect from our newspapers full, fair, and objective reporting of important events, especially in the political and international fields. Only as we have access to reliable information can we make decisions consonant with our sense of Christian responsibility.

Historic Meeting of Social Relations Groups

THE Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Council on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. met in a history-making united session early in February.

The meeting was held in Philadelphia. The Southern group was headed by George Wright, Asheville lawyer, who is chairman of the Council on Christian Relations, and Rev. Malcolm Calhoun of Atlanta, the Executive Secretary of the Department of Church Relations. Eleven members of the Southern Presbyterian committee were present. The Northern group was led by Dr. George Peters, chairman of the SEA Counseling Committee.

Several joint gatherings were held with Mr. Wright as chairman. The two groups also spent several hours in separate meetings for the handling of matters under assignment. At lunch on the second day, the groups were joined by the United Budget Conference members of the Northern Church which was meeting in Philadelphia at the time.

Plans were made for a number of co-operative projects: (1) A joint statement of the Reformed faith in relation to social concern and action; (2) occasional jointly edited issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS for use in the Southern Church as well as in our own; (3) social education and action workshops in "border" synods involving churches and leaders from both denominations; (4) a vocational seminar sponsored jointly by the two departments. It was agreed that the two committees should meet together every year.

The two great Presbyterian bodies have this in common—the historic conviction, so evident in the leadership of both Calvin and Knox, that religion is relevant to all of life.

Memo for Ministers

MR. PREACHER, we think that every member of the session of your church, indeed every officer and leader, should be a regular reader of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. We are not immodest in suggesting that only so can the key persons of your church be truly informed concerning many of the grave social issues confronting the nation and the world. Complete disciples of Christ seek always to make their religion relevant and expressive in terms of everyday living.

Some churches receive rather large quantities of every issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* for distribution among leaders, including Sunday church school workers, and for sale to members of the congregation. Quantity subscription rates are as follows:

- 5-10 copies each month—90 cents each
- 11-25 copies each month—80 cents each
- 26-50 copies each month—70 cents each

Is Something Wrong Here?

A NEGRO soldier and a white soldier were sentenced in February by an Eighth Army court in connection with the deaths of two Korean civilians.

Lieut. James D. Goff, white, was given two years and dismissal from the service. He had been accused of beating a Korean Presbyterian minister to death while searching the home of the pastor's brother for contraband. The court reduced the charge of "unpremeditated murder" to "aggravated assault intentionally inflicting bodily harm." The "aggravation" appears to be the minister's verbal objection to a midnight intrusion.

Private Matthew Cobbins, Negro, was given fifteen years and dishonorable discharge for the carbine murder of a Korean citizen and the wounding of a second. He was charged with "unpremeditated murder."

From this distance, the second sentence appears to be justifiable. But not the first. The man who was murdered, Rev. Wha-Il Pang, was a leader in the Korean Presbyterian Church. We should insist that the case be re-examined and justice done.

It is possible also to order a quantity of any one issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. We suggest that you may wish to have a supply of this issue of the magazine which is beamed to youth for the study of social issues.

Youth in the Lead

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is dedicated to the young people of our Church. The contents were planned with the able assistance of Westminster Fellowship staff advisers in the Board of Christian Education.

We present four articles that will appeal to all readers—youth as well as adults. Dr. Langdon Gilkey, of Vassar College, and Nevin Kendell, editor of *Youth Fellowship Kit*, team up in a moving discussion of "Christianity and Freedom." Dr. Andrew Roy, of the Foreign Board's Department of Missionary Personnel, lucidly outlines the Church's position and program for conscientious objectors. In his usual brilliant way, Clyde Allison writes about the current two-sided attack on the UN. Dr. Horace Sutton tells about a trip into the South made some time ago by a group of students.

"Sanctuary" was prepared by Mrs. Frank T. Wilson, of Washington, D. C., frequent counselor in youth conferences. The "Christian Action" section includes a paper on racial attitudes prepared by a Youngstown, Ohio, youth at the conclusion of a leadership training course. Here, too, are helpful reports on United Nations affairs by Mabel Head and on the Washington scene by Helen Lineweaver.

The youth of our Church recognize the importance of social education and action. This is evident in the way they have responded to the new program emphasis, Christian citizenship, which deals with such issues as intergroup relations, industrial problems, economic life, and community welfare. Our WF young people clearly understand that being a "complete disciple" of Christ has social implications. The Westminster Fellowship National Council recommends that Christian citizenship program area chairmen share in the work of SEA committees in presbyteries and synods as well as in the churches. To prepare WF young people to work on social education and action projects, training in summer leadership schools and conferences is important. This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS has been planned to provide material for use in Christian citizenship discussions and classes at young people's conferences in the summer of 1953.

Race relations and freedom of thought have been highlighted in Christian citizenship study and action throughout the year. WF national officers made a survey of the policies of Presbyterian-related colleges in regard to racial inclusiveness. They strongly urged the policy of "everyone welcome" in all Presbyterian institutions.

—Clifford Earle

Christianity and Freedom

By LANGDON B. GILKEY, *member of the Department of Religion, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, and*
NEVIN E. KENDELL, *Associate Editor for Young People's Publications, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

THE Westminster Fellowship National Council, meeting last June in behalf of Presbyterian youth, adopted the following statement:

"We call upon our members to exert personal influence and to work in every possible way to re-establish freedom of speech and thought for all people. Let us defend especially the rights of our teachers and of other students, whether we agree with their ideas or not."

This statement grew out of a long and difficult struggle which the delegates report as follows:

"One issue we face is the suppression of free speech and thought—a by-product of the fear of Communism within our nation. Looking into the question, we faced a kind of dilemma. We know that Communism is a real threat. On the other hand, we saw that many loyal Americans are accused unjustly of being Communists just because they express unpopular views on controversial issues. When faced with the issue of defending one who has been accused, we were inclined to get sidetracked by asking the question,

'But isn't Communism dangerous?' Gradually we began to see that there are two separate issues.

"The problem posed by real Communists who are disloyal to America is being dealt with by the Government and in the courts. At the same time we must face this other problem which arises when loyal Americans who express unpopular views are called 'Reds.' People may express views we do not like, views which we may even consider dangerous. However much we may detest their opinions, we must defend their right to free speech if this freedom is to be kept secure for all."

Like the delegates to National Council, all of us are tempted to join in suppressing views we fear or abhor. And for us Christians there is a special temptation: because we desire the spread of the Christian faith we are tempted to try to prevent non-Christian points of view from being expressed in our communities, and especially in our schools and colleges. Immediately we recognize the danger in this strategy. Once we acknowledge the

principle that "wrong" ideas should be suppressed in favor of "right," there is always the possibility that the Christian faith will be considered dangerous or subversive and therefore suppressed. As Christians we must defend the freedom of those who oppose us in order to keep our own freedom secure.

But this argument is essentially selfish, and there is a much deeper reason why Christians must take their stand on the side of freedom. When a Christian defends the right of an atheist to teach in the public school (if he is a good teacher) or of an anti-Christian group to hold a meeting in the school building, he may seem to be on the "wrong side." But in fact he is witnessing to something that is at the very heart of the Christian faith.

It is the Christian view that God has created man a free being. Man is free to love and obey God, or to turn from God in disobedience. Out of this freedom and its misuse have come the sin and evil which characterize our world. And what has God done about our sin? We might expect that he would come in power and compel or force us to obey and serve him. But the kind of fellowship that God desires with us cannot be forced. It must be inward and free; it must be a response of faith and love.

Instead of "suppressing" our evil thoughts and deeds, God has sought to *persuade* man by the beauty of

his love which he has shown us in Jesus Christ. In order to draw us back to himself, God has given even his own Son in the death of the cross.

Those who are fearful that freedom of thought in matters of religion will "undermine" Christianity have not understood that the God they seek to serve has himself taken the "risk" of freedom. Freedom of thought is a risk; it is a risk because those of us who were brought up with Christian ideas may find these ideas shaken if we hear other points of view presented powerfully. But this is the risk that God himself took when he made us free to think thoughts other than his thoughts and to do deeds other than his will.

The love with which our Lord came to earth shows beyond question that the God we seek to serve will have no part in the destruction of that free spirit which he himself has created. When we defend the freedom of men to think and speak their own thoughts we are witnessing to the freedom that God has established in the relationship between himself and his creatures.

Freedom to Criticize

Men are generally free to say the things everyone wants to hear. The real test of freedom is when someone tries to say the unpopular thing, to express ideas abhorrent to the majority. It is the American tradition that when you hear a man on a soapbox advocating "dangerous ideas"

you do not call the police but you get on another soapbox to say what you believe and why. In a free society we attack "wrong" ideas with "right" ideas and trust the people to make up their own minds when they have heard all points of view.

In any society one of the most unpopular things a person can do is criticize policies that are approved by the majority. In a democracy, of course, such criticism is absolutely essential. A loyal citizen who honestly believes that a certain policy or practice is wrong will say so, even at the risk of unpopularity. That is how wrongs are made right. Willingness to criticize, even at great risk, is one of the marks of true loyalty in a free society.

Today the situation is complicated by the cold war. Communists also criticize America in order to discredit us before the world. Communists criticize us constantly, and generally unfairly. We are tempted to respond by declaring to the world how great and good we are. Fearful and resentful, we are tempted to resist *any* criticism, even the criticism of our friends.

Today a loyal American who exercises his duty of criticism runs the risk of being called a Communist. One politician, while campaigning for the state legislature in Washington state, put it very bluntly: "If someone insists there is discrimination against Negroes in this country, or that there is inequality of wealth,

there is every reason to believe that person is a Communist."

In a similar vein a recent full-page ad in *Newsweek* magazine pictured a typical group of young people leaving school, and warned in bold, black type, "They're on Stalin & Company's 'Prospect List.'" The text of the ad advised Americans to be on the alert against Communist infiltration of the classroom. Specifically, it suggested that parents should "investigate radical ideas brought home from the classroom." The ad gave no hint as to what ideas are considered radical. That will depend on who you are and where you live. Anybody who says anything *you* consider radical is probably a Communist. At least you had better investigate. In a town which boasts that no Negro has ever spent a night within the city limits, prejudiced citizens will be alert to the danger of Communism when their young people bring home "radical ideas" based on a study of the Bill of Rights.

Any teacher who is an honest teacher and who loves his country will help young people to understand both the achievements and the failures of American democracy, so that they can help to build an America that is even stronger in freedom and justice. Any teacher who is worth his salt will send young people home with ideas that someone will consider "radical." Fortunately, most Americans have enough good sense

not to take seriously the suggestion of the *Newsweek* ad that such a teacher ought to be investigated as a possible Communist.

As Christians we have a tremendous stake in freedom of criticism. The gospel itself implies criticism, that something is wrong with us, because it addresses us as sinners. We know it is the will of God that we should love and serve one another, that our social institutions and customs should express that love which he has shown toward us. One thing a Christian most certainly knows is that neither in his own personal life, nor in the life of society, is the will of God realized. In our treatment of racial minorities, in the poverty in which many of our people live, in the many injustices that plague our national life, we see the denial of God's will for men. It follows that true Christian preaching and teaching will always include a declaration of God's judgment upon us and our society, as well as a declaration of God's mercy. When we suppress criticism of our nation and of our common life we are in effect resisting the Word of God, which calls us to acknowledge our evil and to repent. "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves."

Many are concerned about "spiritual values" in public education. It is clear that from a Christian point of view one of the "spiritual values" most essential in the public school is genuine freedom for free discus-

sion and honest criticism. Christians have real cause for alarm when the schools send out young people with the prayer of the Pharisee on their lips: "God, I thank thee that I am not like other men." But they have real cause for rejoicing when schools and colleges encourage free discussion and honest criticism, of our own nation as well as of others; for here, in the assumption that some things are wrong with us as well as with others, is at least a partial acknowledgment of the claims of Christian faith.

Freedom for unorthodox ideas in our schools and colleges corresponds to the freedom of the Christian to seek the will of God beyond the will of men, and to declare that will to men. The word of God, when spoken in judgment as well as in mercy, always meets stubborn resistance. It will be resented. And in the end it will be allowed a free hearing only in a society that respects the freedom of all who advocate unpopular ideas.

If we side with those who seek to suppress thought with which we disagree, not only shall we lose our own integrity of spirit but in the end we shall thereby make it impossible for the Church itself to be true to its task. Only when the Christian can freely criticize himself, his Church, and his society can the will of God become a living part of our personal and social existence.

The Conscientious Objector

By ANDREW T. ROY, *Secretary, Department of Missionary Personnel, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.*

In high schools and on college campuses young people are probing the problems of peace and war. Some who believe war to be abhorrent have a grave decision to make about their personal participation in our country's defense effort. No matter what their decision may be they can be sure that their church stands back of them. Andrew Roy explains the current procedures for conscientious objectors to follow.

THE Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., though not one of the historic "Peace Churches," has many times declared its aversion to war (e.g., General Assembly Minutes, 1930), while reiterating its loyalty to the Government of our country (e.g., G.A. Minutes, 1940). It has unequivocally supported the Protestant principle of freedom of conscience. This includes "those whose consciences forbid them to engage in military service and those whose consciences permit the same" (e.g., G.A. Minutes, 1940). Christians of both views are to be held "in full communion and fellowship." "God alone is Lord of the conscience" . . . and "it is the duty of man to obey the conscience in the fear of God and in fidelity to his Word" (e.g., G.A. Minutes, 1930, and repeated or implied in 1931, 1934, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1950, etc.). Our Church's position is clear.

Since the Oxford Conference on Church, Community, and State in

1937 it has been taken for granted in ecumenical conferences that, with regard to war, there are three general positions held by large groups of Christians. Each should be respected, while prayerful exchange of thought continues. Among the three is the position of absolute rejection of war.

During the Last War

In 1941 the General Assembly Minutes contained this action: "Recognizing the difficulty faced by conscientious objectors who are sent to work camps and are required to pay for their own subsistence, it is recommended that the Office of the General Assembly be designated as a place to receive from interested churches and individuals funds for their relief." Some \$32,000 was received through the efforts of a special committee, of which Dr. George Buttrick was chairman, and used in accordance with this action, though far more than this was provided for Presbyterian C.O.'s by Friends,

Mennonites, and other interested groups.

The Present Situation

Since 1940 it has been the custom to have Presbyterian conscientious objectors file with the Stated Clerk (Office of the General Assembly, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.) a written statement in their own handwriting as to their position. Pastors and counselors should bring this to the attention of those concerned. Since 1948 forty-six have so registered, including a few who were not members of the Presbyterian Church.

In 1952 a group representing the three Boards of the Church interviewed the National Selective Service System officials and cleared procedures. A Presbyterian Service Committee was formed, with the Stated Clerk as chairman and Clifford Earle as secretary. The Boards of the Church were asked to submit projects at home and abroad in which conscientious objectors, if approved by the project, the Board concerned, and the Presbyterian Service Committee, could be used. These projects were to be of a public service and welfare nature, rather than ones planned primarily for the benefit of the members of the organization or for increasing the membership thereof. In the seventh supplementary list of approved projects sent out to local draft boards by the National Selective Service System

several Presbyterian projects were included, and others have been submitted since.

General Hershey, National Director of Selective Service, has written:

"The conscientious objector provides a test of our willingness to implement our belief in freedom of religion. It is a difficult test because it permits registrants to escape service that is required of others. . . .

"Because it is an exception, it is important far beyond the few thousands involved numerically. It is a recognition of respect for sincerity in religious belief, even though that belief prevents the registrant from assisting in insuring the nation's survival. It can never be extended generally; a nation can afford only a few. It is an indication of a nation's strength and its confidence in itself and its own greatness that it permits, for the sake of the individual conscience, behavior which is destructive to its own survival. . . .

"The law does not recognize the opposition in conscience that follows philosophical, political, social, or economic belief. These are relationships between men and, regardless of validity, they are entitled to no consideration. . . .

"The hard task of the Selective Service System is to separate those who, because of their relationship with forces beyond the human sphere, cannot in conscience bear arms. . . . These registrants must

have the privilege the law provides, no matter how completely we reject individually those beliefs. Any other treatment jeopardizes religious freedom. . . .

"If any religious group loses freedom today by governmental interference, directly or indirectly, the religious freedom of any group will not be safe for tomorrow. It is also true that any masquerading of political, social, economic, or philosophical views as religious beliefs will, if successful, in the end bring an end to respect for the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience. . . .

"These decisions are the responsibility of those who make Selective Service work Let us be vigilant to exclude those who come with knowledge rather than with faith, but be tolerant to include those who believe."

Procedure for Applicants

In addition to the procedures required by draft boards, it is important for a C.O. who wishes to give his two years of alternative service within an approved project sponsored by the Presbyterian Church to observe the following steps:

1. In submitting in his own handwriting the statement of his position, to the Stated Clerk, he should give both religious and other pertinent reasons, providing enough information for the committee to reach a judgment as to the clarity and sin-

cerity of the stand. He should include a request for an application blank from the Presbyterian Service Committee, 830 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

2. He should fill out and return the blank, which includes the number and address of his local draft board, references, details of church membership, area and type of service preferred (i.e., U.S.A. or overseas, agricultural extension, public health, etc.), and other relevant information, including the reasons for seeking such alternative service under Church auspices.

3. The Presbyterian Service Committee will then refer the blank to the Board concerned, which will approve or disapprove and notify the committee, which takes final action. So far as the Selective Service system is concerned, all assignments are made to the Presbyterian Service Committee which has the right to remove or transfer a worker if conditions so demand.

4. If the applicant is acceptable, consultation will be held to determine the actual project to be considered, and word secured from the director of the project confirming or rejecting the assignment.

5. The Presbyterian Service Committee will notify the local draft board concerned, the pastor, etc., and the applicant will fill out the volunteering forms (Numbers 151-2-3) and submit them to the same draft board.

6. If the project is overseas and under the general supervision of The Board of Foreign Missions, it is understood that the conscientious objector is not to be designated a "missionary." The project director and the field representative are to report within six months to the Board as to quality and spirit of the work, and the mission may, if it so desires, request the Board to affiliate the worker to the mission.

7. Upon final notice from the draft board the applicant should proceed to the project, the Service Committee being responsible for notifying the draft board of the date of arrival and any subsequent change of status.

Financial Support

As to financial arrangements, some of the projects involve institu-

tional support, some Church Board support, and some are listed but have no financial support available. In the latter case, the individual may have to secure his own support, unless conditions warrant the raising of special funds, by permission of the General Council. Where support is available it is understood to involve approximately the rate prevailing for similar workers in the same area of non-C.O. status.

NOTE: Information concerning national legislation dealing with religious conscientious objectors may be secured from the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 1105 K Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. A leaflet entitled *The General Assembly and Conscientious Objectors* may be obtained from the Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians, 252 Fulton Street, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Citizenship

"I cannot be a good Christian and a bad citizen. I cannot be a good citizen unless I am an active citizen. When the millions of well-meaning church members in America become fully aware of this fact, and begin to show forth the praises of God in their lives as citizens, America may, indeed, become a Christian nation at home and in her world-wide relationships."

The above statement is only a short paragraph from the excellent pamphlet *Citizenship—Our Christian Concern*, by Cynthia Wedel. It is published by the General Department of United Church Women and provides many valuable facts on this timely subject. Order from the Department of Publication and Distribution, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 120 East 23d Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Two-sided Attack on the U N

By CLYDE M. ALLISON, *Minister, Bridesburg Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.*

IN *The Herblock Book* there is a cartoon by the author, famed cartoonist of *The Washington Post*, of two men, one at each end of a saw, cutting down the tree of "World Democracy." One of the men represents the Communists; the other, the reactionaries. They are saying to each other, "I don't know what I'd do without you." While it is doubtful that they would admit saying that to each other, for it is more or less obvious that they are not on speaking terms, nevertheless, it does not take very much looking to realize how well the Communists and the reactionary superpatriots and peddlers of hate and smear are helping each other to fulfill their purposes to undermine the pillars of freedom and democracy. Whichever door either of them open they find each other. One of their chief targets is the United Nations.

The tactics of Soviet Russia in the United Nations is well known, as it is daily recorded in the papers. It is to walk out in a huff, veto, obstruct, and charge everything that happens as being an extension of "American imperialism." Since the Russians take this attitude, one might expect that the superpatriots and the supernationalists in Amer-

ica would be champions of the United Nations. But that is not so. Quite the contrary, they charge by insinuation and by innuendo that the United Nations is something of a "Communist plot" to infiltrate America and infer that the United Nations is a subversive organization. And so the tree of World Democracy is being cut down from two sides, the extreme right and the extreme left, and while the two are not on speaking terms, they are working together. If the United Nations, the representative of world democracy, is to stand, we have to do our part to make sure that neither the Communists nor the reactionaries are successful in their common purpose—to destroy the foundations of freedom and liberty.

AS WAS said, the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union toward the United Nations is well known. Their attacks began almost from the start, and the obstructionist tactics of the Soviet Union's delegates at the San Francisco Conference, which gave the United Nations its birth, was one of the first bits of tangible evidence that the co-operation that had defeated the might of Hitler's *Wehrmacht* was now at an end. By threats,

by intransigence, by master-minding the Korean war, by every means at their command the Communists have seriously threatened the existence of the United Nations. They have even refused to permit the most humanitarian of the United Nations agencies such as the Children's Emergency Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and other such UN agencies to work within their borders or to receive their support. The charge is always the same—the UN is an "imperialistic plot."

It is as though the Communists are determined to make the United Nations go the way of the League of Nations. If they do not succeed, it will be because of the determination and courage of the independent peoples of the earth to make the United Nations an effective force for international liberty and justice.

But, as was said, the Communists are not the only ones who make out the United Nations as a "subversive plot." In America there are those who also seem to be determined that the history of the League shall repeat itself, and they are getting more and more effective. They could not be effective at all were it not that at the present time we, as a people, have such a bad case of jitters that anyone "on the make" need only to start uncovering Communists in every corner, and to find in every humanitarian organization a "subversive plot." He will have an audience and he will be protected by the

fear of anyone to answer him, lest they too get painted with the red brush. The way of quick success in politics for some people today is to find "subversives."

At first the place to find them was in the State Department and in the Government. Now it is in the United Nations, in the schools, and in the colleges. Soon it may be in the churches. For if there is one thing the reactionary politicians "on the make" cannot endure, it is to be without plots to uncover. If they have none, they will make them up on the flimsiest of evidence and on the grounds of "wrong thinking." And this is happening so that anyone who has a liberal record finds himself in a peculiar corner, not knowing exactly what to do. This atmosphere creates a virus that destroys independence, liberty, and freedom of thought in our common life. And now it is eating away at the United Nations as well.

ONE might say that the reactionary attack on the United Nations, like the Communists' attack, began almost from the day of the San Francisco Conference. But at that time it was not effective because there was a tremendous reservoir of good will and idealism which was willing to go a long way in the pursuit of a lasting and enduring peace. There was a song that was one of the popular hit tunes then: "When the Lights Go On Again, All Over the

World." It was everywhere believed and hoped that in the United Nations we were turning on the lights of peace and security. But since then we have had our idealism and optimism pretty well knocked out of us, and the slumbering and whispering opposition of the reactionaries, which at that time was pretty well gagged by public opinion, is now vocal and is achieving its purpose of undermining public trust in the United Nations.

In many parts of the country, schools are under attack for teaching about the United Nations. For one example, see the story of the Los Angeles situation in the article by Vilma Frasher, "We Struggle and Hope," SOCIAL PROGRESS, January. The same type of campaign described there is going on in many cities, and it seems to be the determination of the superpatriots that schools shall be afraid to teach or advocate anything that shall inform our boys and girls about the work or the importance of the United Nations. However, there are those who are fighting back with their rights as citizens. When the school board in Houston, Texas, banned the annual UN essay contest, the citizens rebelled, took over the contest, and held it at the Y.W.C.A.

It was natural to expect that some anti-UN sentiment would be obvious at the 1952 annual meeting of the D.A.R. recently held in Washington. But it is serious to note that the chief

UN baiters at this convention were the Congressmen who have been given the committee tasks of finding subversives. Among those who addressed this convention was Senator William E. Jenner, now chairman of an investigating committee, and he told the women that "we must disentangle ourselves from the UN because it is a collective superstate." To the D.A.R. resolutions which support the tactics of the whispering campaign carried by our twentieth century "know-nothings" to "get the U.S. out of the UN and the UN out of the U.S.," Mrs. Roosevelt made the cryptic comment: "I know that many fine people are members of the D.A.R. . . . but I believe that we are living in an era too dangerous for any group . . . to pass resolutions without careful study."

AN OMINOUS phase of the war against the UN is the recent investigation by the McCarran Committee of the American UN employees which has resulted in the dismissal of several responsible officials. If we want to go witch-hunting in our own Government that is our business. Our witch-hunting has always been most effective in its destruction of independent thinkers rather than Communists. By so doing we have quite effectively rooted out the possibility of independence in our State Department by, for instance, discharging those who saw
(Continued on page 18)

THE Yale Center of Alcohol Studies has completed a five-year study of the use of alcoholic beverages in colleges and universities. The study provides for the first time a body of factual information which will be useful in developing a strategy for dealing with the problem.

It was revealed that students from lower-income-bracket families were more likely to abstain than youth from higher-income families.

Use of Alcoholic Beverages According to Family Income

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
\$2,500 and under	66%	30%
\$2,500 to \$4,999	74%	48%
\$5,000 to \$9,999	81%	58%
\$10,000 and over	86%	79%

Among Protestant students, it was shown that only 50 per cent of those who attended church regularly were users of alcoholic beverages. The breakdown according to religious affiliation was interesting.

Use of Alcoholic Beverages According to Religious Affiliation

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Jewish	94%	94%	94%
Catholic	90%	78%	84%
Protestant	77%	60%	68%
Mormon	54%	23%	38%

The type of school seems to have a definite bearing on the problem of drinking among students.

Use of Alcoholic Beverages According to Type of College

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Private	93%	87%	90%
Public (state colleges and universities)	83%	74%	78%
Church-related	65%	39%	52%

Students

Study of Colleges

Perhaps the most important revelation of the study has to do with the influence of parental attitudes and practices.

Use of Alcoholic Beverages According to Parental Example

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Both parents use alcoholic beverages	90%	83%	86%
One parent uses alcoholic beverages	81%	52%	66%
Both parents abstain	51%	19%	35%

The number of students who use alcoholic beverages with both parents drinking is 51 per cent greater than the number of students who drink while both parents abstain. The Yale survey reveals that parental example has more bearing on the attitude of students toward alcohol than either education or religious training.

Another important revelation was that 72 per cent of the students who use beverage alcohol began to drink before they entered college.

The survey points up the importance of alcohol education among pre-college-age youth in both school and church. In most communities, this important assignment is largely shirked by the public schools. Our school administrators are too often satisfied to meet the requirement for alcohol education by using occasional temperance speakers from outside. The program is not related to regular curriculum. Yet every state requires teaching about the effects of alcohol in the public schools.

As to the churches, how little and how unrealistic are most of our efforts in this field. We honor the women of our Church for making alcohol education a priority in the 1953 program for Presbyterian Women's Organizations.

The new study book, *Alcohol and Christian Responsibility*, by Clifford Earle, promises to have a wide reading. It is now available through the Presbyterian Distribution Service. (65 cents.) An important series of lessons on the alcohol problem will appear in the July-September, 1953, issue of *Crossroads*.

TWO-SIDED ATTACK ON THE UN

Continued from page 15

the handwriting on the wall for Chiang Kai-shek in China. Several who called the shots as they saw them paid the price of being smeared. As we destroy the possibility of independence of judgment we should not complain if all we get from our Government employees is the "master's voice." We have decided that that is the way we want it, for better or for worse.

But the United Nations is not our State Department. If we pretend that it is, we are destroying it and playing into the hands of the Communists on the other end of the saw who also like to pretend that it is. The United Nations cannot serve the exclusive American interests and be the United Nations. It was not the work of the employees under investigation which was in question, nor whether or not they had a record of loyalty in service to the UN, but whether or not they had what the committee considered "subversive" connections. Of those investigated, one is an open record as she answered the questions put to her. She, who was Public Information Officer of UNICEF, did not invoke the constitutional rights to refuse to answer, but said, "Yes," she had been a Communist seventeen years ago. She was in the party for about a year and then dropped out. She had a long record of service in the United Na-

tions, and her devotion and loyalty to the work of UNICEF, which is to give help to needy children in all parts of the world, was obvious. But she was dismissed for having been a party member at the time when, during the depression, many disillusioned young people became party members, and for her interest in liberal causes since then. But that is not the question anyway.

The question is whether we are willing to let the United Nations be the creature of all the nations, responsible to the direction of the nations for its policy and its work. Are we going to try to forge the chains to make the United Nations servile to committees of our own Congress?

Under the Charter which we ourselves ratified, the United Nations staff is not a national, but an international, staff. And it is the representatives of the nations who are responsible. And yet, when we see the integrity of the United Nations violated we are mute and silent lest we too become smeared. But the tree of World Democracy which is being cut down is "We the People." If the United Nations is destroyed or rendered totally ineffective it will work to the advantage of both the Communists and our superpatriots. But it will be the people of the world who will suffer. That's us.

Seeing America First

By HORACE SUTTON. *Reprinted with permission from the Saturday Review.*

LATE last fall, after long weeks of careful planning and \$100 in long-distance phone calls, a chartered bus rolled down the hilly campus of Bronxville's (N. Y.) Sarah Lawrence College and headed for Charlottesville, Virginia. Inside were twenty students and three professors off on a field trip to study the TVA as part of an experimental course in social science known as "The Individual and American Institutions."

Of the twenty girls, one was from Denmark, one from Sweden, one from the French zone of Occupied Germany, two Negroes, and one Canadian. Among the faculty participants were Edward Solomon, once of Mississippi, Sarah Lawrence's director of field work; Bert James Lowenberg, professor of history and faculty trustee; and Edith Yalden-Thomson, professor of economics, a Czech.

What started out as the "one extended group field trip" which the college catalogue had promised became a major excursion in race relations. As the contact man, Professor Solomon, first by phone, then by confirming letter, was forced to play a delicate game with Southern innkeepers and Southern colleges.

His problem was to arrange for twenty-four meals and eight overnight stops for a mixed group of whites and Negroes while his field trip rolled through Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas.

"We did not go South on a crusade," Solomon says. "It had been our original plan to go to a small Pennsylvania town, live with the townspeople, study the economics of the community and local trade-unionism. Then we thought of studying TVA and getting a comprehensive view of a planned program of social change. We were also interested in getting into the Blue Ridge and Smoky mountains, in seeing Virginia because it was the seat of our early government, and we were interested in a look at the architecture of the University of Virginia."

Solomon invited students from two other classes to join the trip. When all the bids were in, there were twenty acceptances, two of them from Negro students. "Now we could have stayed at Negro colleges, or we could have segregated our Negro students, but we were determined to make this thing as clean as possible," he says. To scratch for places below the Mason-Dixon that

would take Negroes and whites, Solomon began calling his friends in the South, collecting folders from travel agencies. A hotel in Knoxville agreed to take the whole group, "but if anyone says anything," the owner insisted, "you must say you are foreign students." Solomon took the proposition to the girls, and they rejected it. "We called back and said we were a mixed group of Americans, and the man said never mind coming."

One college in the Carolinas acknowledged it had plenty of room, but the Negro students would have to be put up in the servants' quarters. A well-known women's college in Virginia told Solomon, "We cannot feed you, and we cannot even give you an interracial conference on the campus." The University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson founder, advised Sarah Lawrence, "We cannot figure out a way for you to sleep here, and we never had a mixed group eat in the Commons."

The girls from Bronxville didn't sleep at the University of Virginia, but they were the first mixed group to eat in the Commons. They were also guests at Madison Hall, the Y.M.C.A. building on Virginia's campus, and Southern students, foreign students, whites, and Negroes mixed happily in one party, talked, danced, played boogiewoogie. A Southern college that had denied

them overnight privileges gave the girls a meeting hall and every other kind of courtesy of lodging. When the bus stopped on the campus the college president was on hand to carry baggage. Says Solomon: "Actually it was a big step. In terms of their background they went far."

Some Southerners went farther. A middle-bracket commercial hotel in Knoxville handed the girls a batch of folders to give to their friends, told them they were the type people they would like to have back, sent them all Christmas cards a few weeks later. Seeking to avoid friction with other guests when the bus arrived at the Martha Washington Hotel in Abingdon, Virginia, a faculty leader told the manager, "If you will tell me where the dining room is, I'll collect our party." Said he, "Let the girls wander around; the hotel is yours."

Solomon eliminated points of friction by using box lunches in lieu of several midday stops. Other times the method was skilled diplomacy and a trained understanding of human reaction. From an Ask Mr. Foster travel agency in New York, Solomon got a folder advertising a motel near Charlottesville. He called the owner, and the conversation went something like this: "I'm told you have a fine motor court down there. We're taking twenty kids over to the TVA, but our problem arises from the

fact that a couple of the kids are colored. Now I'm from Mississippi and my father is a Baptist preacher—I understand your situation." There was a long, long pause, then from the other end came the drawl: "I never have taken no colored. Nope, I just can't do it." Solomon was determined not to let go. "Can you give me any advice; perhaps maybe you can help me find a place," he said. "There is a colored hotel in Charlottesville." "Well, you understand how we live up here," Solomon said. "Our girls all eat together and sleep together and we have to find a place where we can live like we do when we're home. Say, how would it be if we took the whole court?" There was the pause again, then Solomon added, "Well, will you let us know?" Finally the man answered: "I hate to lose the business, but I can't take no colored. . . . You say you'll take the whole court?" "Yes, sir." "You say you got two colored girls, eh. . . . I'll risk it if you put the colored girls in a cabin by themselves." "Well, the group's not going to like it," Solomon told him, "but I'll take it up with them. You've come a long way, and I want to thank you for it. We'll take the whole court, although we are awfully poor."

There was an exchange of letters, and Solomon wrote again asking for numbers of cabins so he could "make out assignments."

There was no intention of having the Negro girls sleep in the same bunk. "You may ask why we didn't just let the two Negro kids flop in together. That would have been easiest. But we simply didn't want to do it that way. Actually he rented the empty cabins and we never had to pay for the whole court. That night I asked him if he wanted to see our bunking list. I told him I didn't know who was sleeping with whom. He said, 'Naw.'"

The students had reservations at the same motor court several days later on their way back from TVA. This time the owner came out to the bus, swung up the steps, and peered into every girl's face. Recalls Solomon: "I began to get nervous. You get jumpy on a trip like this. You treat every incident like a combat situation." Finally the Virginian's eyes found the face of Sue Greenburg, the trip photographer. He smiled. "I married myself a new wife and she ain't twenty-eight yet. Pretty as a new speckled pup. I want you to take a picture of us."

There were times when things were not so conciliatory. The girls tripped on the color line once at a gas station rest room. And they reported "considerable unrest" after they joined a queue in a Knoxville cafeteria. If the picture of a mixed group of students traveling together proved palpitating for the South, the local atmosphere had its effect

on the travelers too. Said Libby Blank, a white student from Brookline, Massachusetts: "I didn't feel relaxed until we were in the dining room in Philadelphia. It was a thoroughly awkward and uncomfortable situation. I felt as though I had to go out of my way continually to prove that Martie and Joan were my friends.

Aside from its study of TVA and its lesson in race relations the Sarah Lawrence field trip also provided an inspiration for other mixed groups who seek to meet and study in the South. Solomon has had a call from a group of Negro and white social workers who are trying to hold a conference in the Carolinas. There has been word from the C.I.O., which has been trying unfruitfully to arrange an interracial meeting of organizers in Knoxville. Mills College is planning a mixed trip to Williamsburg, and Sarah Lawrence itself is planning a mixed trip to Washington.

For its frequent bold line of departure from the deep ruts of time-worn educational systems Sarah Lawrence has lately found itself, like many another U. S. institute of

learning, the target of attacks from extreme right and left. Louis Budenz ripped Sarah Lawrence and twenty other colleges, including Wellesley, Harvard, Chicago, and Amherst in the *American Legion Magazine* article entitled "Do Colleges Have to Hire Red Professors?" subtitled "Parents Can Rid Themselves of Communists Who Cloak Themselves in 'Academic Freedom.'"

The explosive atmosphere created by this unsegregated tour into the South (and such other Sarah Lawrence departures as unsegregated Negro students, no chapel services, no Jewish quota) stirred a new barrage from local Legion posts, from Allen Zoll, who was a force in the Pasadena incident, and other groups who oppose progressive education. The links in the attacking forces could be traced all the way to Washington.

At last look, Sarah Lawrence's principles of academic freedom were being upheld by 175 citizens of the wealthy suburb of Bronxville who appeared spontaneously with a petition deploring the Legion for having made a "private conviction" the "equivalent of a legal right."

The California Library Association, believing that "those who attack UNESCO and the ideals for which it stands are unwittingly suppressing the very freedoms they propose to protect," has passed a resolution favoring "the teaching of UNESCO in the public schools of California and opposing the censorship or elimination of books and materials on subjects relating to UNESCO and world understanding from classrooms and libraries of all types." —Saturday Review, January 3, 1953.

Sanctuary

SECURE FOUNDATIONS

Call to Worship:

"Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord?
And who shall stand in his holy place?
He who has clean hands and a pure heart,
who does not lift up his soul to what is false,
and does not swear deceitfully.
He will receive blessing from the Lord,
and vindication from the God of his salvation."

"The hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him."

Invocation:

Thou who hast created the heavens and the earth and hast breathed thy spirit into the life of man, in humility, help us to know thee, in simplicity, to trust thee. Incline our hearts to seek thee and to serve thee, and sustain us by the never-failing support of thy love.

Hymn: "Praise Ye the Lord, the Almighty, the King of Creation!"

Scripture: Luke 6:43-49.

Meditation:

The rush and clamor of life keep us from realizing that God is the very foundation of our existence. This was the central emphasis in the teachings of Jesus and the central fact in his life. This realization gave him power to endure the cross and gave him victory over the grave.

Spiritual foundations for living abundantly and courageously are laid securely as we take time for abiding in the presence of God. Sometimes in a moment of quiet thoughtfulness, again through the utterance of the deepest promptings of our hearts in prayer, we feel the inflowing of strangely new powers. These are the times of digging beneath the shift-

ing sands and building layer upon layer of unshakable foundations.

Failing or refusing such "engagements with the infinite," our lives become shallow, our hearts become fearful, and we seem to be enveloped in a cloud of confusion and insecurity. In just such times, God calls us to victory through the power he can give. He calls us to truth through the light of his holy Word. He calls us to righteousness through the revelation of our higher natures in the life of Jesus Christ. All else will fail. He alone is our support and our certainty.

Litany:

Leader: Let us with one accord give our lives to Him who calls us by the power of his love in Jesus Christ. "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me."

Congregation: We give thee our lives, our Father; make us worthy children of thine.

Leader: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life."

Congregation: Send out thy light and thy truth. Let them lead us.

Leader: "And this is the judgment, that the light has come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."

Congregation: Take away our love of sinning, and renew a clean spirit within us, O Father.

Leader: "This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

Congregation: May there be in us no variableness, O God, nor any shadows of turning; teach us to love thee as thou deservest and give us strength to serve thee with the fullness of our lives. Amen.

Hymn: "How Firm a Foundation."

Benediction:

May the love of God our Father and the power of his Holy Spirit sustain and keep you evermore. Amen.

—Prepared by Mrs. Anna L. Wilson, active worker, Sargent Memorial Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.; served as Music Director for the Presbyterian Young Peoples' Summer Conferences at Lincoln University, Lafayette College, and Haverford College.

Christian ACTION

ARE YOUR ATTITUDES CHRISTIAN?

We hold that the Christian attitude will always appreciate the truth. The truth should take into consideration all facts, both favorable and unfavorable, and causes as well as results. The Christian source book, the Bible, gives us pictures of citizens of the Kingdom of God. These pictures will be found in Matt., ch. 5, and in John 8:32, which reads, "You will know the truth, and the truth will make you free."

Oftentimes when Christian truths are brought home to us in our personal experience, we are shocked because they are so obviously different from our usual behavior patterns. But we soon regain our balance if we persist in our effort to apply our faith. For example, a Southern industrialist moved his family to a large Midwestern city. He had a son who was enrolled in the local high school. The youth formed a friendship with a Negro youth who attended the same school. The Negro youth was outstanding as a student and as an athlete. The son of the industrialist brought his friend home for the week end to meet his family.

The white youth had given little or no thought to the color of his friend, nor had he discussed it with his parents. When he walked into the dining room where the family had assembled, nothing but amazement and surprise registered on their faces. To break the tension, the youth suggested that his friend get ready for dinner. He then talked with his family about their attitude. His parents admitted they had been taken by surprise, but hastened to add that their son's action had been in direct accord with their own teaching. In fact they had only commendation for the youth's attitudes and were delighted to make his friend welcome in their home.

It is evident that fellowship is the best method of teaching Christian attitudes—fellowship in which Christian attitudes toward God and toward man are evident.

How Are Attitudes Formed?

A Christian attitude implies readiness to act by Christian means toward Christian ends. These means and ends stem from the Christian faith, which involves:

1. Active faith in God.

2. Active faith in the universe, as dependable and friendly rather than hostile to man.

3. Respect for all persons, oneself and all others as children of God.

4. Faith in, and commitment to, the Kingdom of God as accomplished and taught by Jesus Christ.

5. Awareness of man's dependence upon the mercy and grace of God.

Attitudes are formed in a number of ways. They may be formed by accidental association, e.g., a school friendship formed between an American child and a Japanese-American child. If this is followed by a happy meeting between their families, the attitude of appreciation and understanding is generalized and, as a result, comic portrayals of less admirable characteristics of the Japanese people are brushed off easily.

Of course, the opposite situation may arise. If the only experience a person has with Jewish persons is limited to one Jewish merchant with a reputation for unfair dealing, then an attitude of dislike for this one person may be generalized to apply to the group.

Attitudes are formed by deliberate conditioning. Experiences may be arranged in the home which will be likely to produce desired results, such as understanding, friendship, and personally accepted responsibility.

Attitudes are formed by imitation. Children living in a home that respects all races and classes will imitate the adults and develop similar attitudes.

Attitudes are formed by propaganda, by the deliberate association of ideas regarding people or ways of life.

Christian attitudes are formed by the conscious process of living as a growing Christian family in which Christian attitudes are operative and are being formed in the process.

Attitudes are formed by individuals and by groups. They open up new avenues for other responses leading to other actions. This last method should be the most effective, for it possesses a combination of both the means and the ends.

The Bible cannot be replaced in developing Christian attitudes in the family. We must understand that Bible characters, incidents, and teachings are not merely read about and appreciated and then disregarded. Rather, they must be appropriated for our own use, either as a way of behaving or as a measuring rod for our thought and conduct.

Christian attitudes are best taught in the home. Here the Christian family will bring to bear upon their problems or plans their own past experiences, and the experiences recorded in the Bible. The Christian family will work at their

problems together, evaluating the outcome in terms of their Christian goal and Christian faith.

—*Edward Stonework, a student*

in a community training class in Youngstown, Ohio, directed by Rev. Harry R. Roach, of Columbus, Ohio.

SEEK UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION

Now that the Assembly of the United Nations is again in session it is taking up items that were not finished before adjournment in December. The Assembly will also consider some of the most important questions of political, economic, and social adjustment in the interests of peace. Everyone should know the facts, which may be secured by application direct to the Information Service of the UN.

Land Reform—The Sixth Assembly of the UN passed an important resolution that should not be overlooked by our Church people. It was a resolution on land reform. It was introduced as a measure of justice for the peasants of Asia and Africa. It dealt with the welfare and living standards of rural peoples, with co-operatives, with the indebtedness of farm workers, with social legislation and the establishment of funds for agrarian reform on an international basis. Church representatives, especially the missionaries, should know what such an action means. All should give support to our Government in helping to carry out this resolution. It is a real achievement for sixty nations to pass such legislation.

The above resolution means that

Technical Assistance, fine as it is, is not enough. Governments must take action to make such assistance effective. Aid will not be given except when requested by Governments. In addition, the projects undertaken must strengthen the political and economic independence of the people getting the help. A clearinghouse is necessary, so the Technical Assistance Board has been set up (TAB).

The list of projects is long, but many of them are related to the interests of the Church and missions. Some would furnish good topics for study and discussion, such as measures for dealing with social problems—delinquency, drug addiction, physically handicapped, status of minorities; soil management—irrigation, insect control, animal breeding, nutrition; education, including technical education and the training of teachers. Materials can be secured from the Public Information Service of the United Nations. Of the list of seventy-one countries it might be interesting to select those in which the Church has missionaries at work and learn what the UN is doing for the people of that area.

—*Mabel Head, UN Observer*

★ Citizenship ★

☒ As we go to press, the 83d Congress has just rounded out its second month with very little tangible evidence of its two months' labor.

Investigations—Probably the most noticeable results are the number of investigations now under way, chief among which may be those in both Houses relative to Communism in the schools and the one in the Senate dealing with subversive influences in the State Department and its "Voice of America" programs. Well over 100 bills providing for various and sundry other investigations have been introduced with the promise of more to come.

In an effort to insure fair and just procedures with regard to these probes, several bills have been proposed setting up standard investigative procedures and practices. Senator Kefauver and Senator Morse in the Senate, and Rep. Keating (R., N.Y.) in the House, have introduced bills looking toward what *The Washington Post* describes as "the abandonment of smear techniques in favor of an objective search for the facts." It is encouraging that formal legislation is being considered to deal with this matter.

In spite of an unusually strong coalition against it, the Hawaiian statehood bill was finally passed through the House by a vote of 274 to 138. This action was taken after a

bill to recommit the statehood measure to the committee had been defeated in the House by a vote of 227 to 182. On the Senate side the bill is still in committee. Contrary to earlier expectations, hearings on Alaskan statehood have been set for the middle of April by the House Interior Committee.

Tidelands Oil—As we go to press, the so-called "tidelands oil" issue is expected momentarily to be reported from committee and be taken up immediately by the Senate. Prolonged debate is assured with some talk being heard of a filibuster by those who oppose giving the offshore oil lands to the states. There is considerable support for an "oil for education" bill under which all state school systems would share in revenue from the offshore oil reserves. There seems justification, however, for deciding this issue on its merits rather than mixing it up with Federal aid to education. Attorney General Brownell's testimony before the committee wherein he suggested that the Federal Government should give states "only such authority as required" for them "to administer and develop the natural resources" of the submerged lands may serve to reduce some of the controversy. Senator Taft has estimated that this debate will consume at least three weeks in the Senate.

President's Resolution—President Eisenhower's resolution condemning the Soviet subjugation of free peoples seems bogged down in partisan disagreement, at press time. Senate Democrats are supporting the original wording of the resolution and Senate Republicans are advocating an amendment backed by Senator Taft which stipulates that the resolution takes no position as to the "validity or nonvalidity" of the various agreements. Stalin's death may serve as an excuse further to delay Congressional action since there is no desire to risk a floor fight on the amendment.

The Bricker Resolution to curtail the treaty power is still in the process of hearings in the Senate Judiciary subcommittee at this time. Sixty-three Senators, in addition to Senator Bricker, have signed this resolution which is sufficient to insure its passage if it is brought to the floor for a vote. Congressional sentiment in favor of this amendment is generated largely by a feeling that the treaty power has been grossly abused in recent years and that something must be done to prevent this in the future. However, in the words of *The Washington Post*, "by restricting the sphere in which treaties could be negotiated and by requiring an act of Congress to give treaty provisions the status of law, the Bricker proposal would lay an intolerable burden on the conduct of our foreign relations. Instead of safeguarding

our liberties, it would bring joy to the hearts of tyrants, for the result would be to hamstring the United States in its efforts to build free-world security." There is some probability that a resolution geared to correct such abuses as have occurred but less drastic in its consequences may be framed to cover the situation. Since treaties require a two thirds vote of approval by the Senate it would seem that this would adequately cover the problem.

Federal Aid—As we go to press, a supplemental appropriation bill providing \$20.5 million for Federal aid to schools in communities having large defense establishments has passed both Houses and is in a Senate-House conference committee. Since both Houses included this education item no change is anticipated in conference. Forty million dollars has already been paid out under this program by the Office of Education in this fiscal year.

The Senate-House Immigration Committee, created to supervise enforcement of the McCarran-Walter immigration law, has elected Senator Watkins (R., Utah) as chairman and Rep. Graham (R., Pa.) as vice-chairman. The group plans to summon Justice Department and Immigration Service officials to a meeting, probably in April, and conduct other inquiries into workings of the law.

—Helen Lineweaver

About Books



Strengthened with Might, by Harold Wilke. The Westminster Press. \$1.50.

Are you all in one piece? Maybe you have all your limbs and both eyes and are not handicapped. But how do you meet those who lack one or more of the normal faculties? Do you color up? Do you offend him with your sympathies? Maybe your altruism has run amuck to the point of hurt?

In this small volume you will learn not only how to face your own handicaps, but, more important, how to live with those who carry them. With objective insight the writer (born without arms) tells us the one, two, three to avoid if a handicapped person crosses your track.

By amusing and heart-crushing incidents Harold Wilke tells us of his battle with himself and his friends ("aching to do the right thing") in attempting to live a normal life. He opens the book of psychology of reaction between the crippled and the normal. We learn that "they [the noncrippled] often react, not to his [the cripple's] disability, but to something inside themselves." A cripple can spot an

insecure person by the way he reacts to the handicap. The author lists what the church can do, suggests devotional readings for the handicapped, and concludes with some hard-hitting prayers.

Many may pass by this excellent book because of its small print.

—Fred Luchs

What Is Race?, by Diana Tead, with illustrations by Jane Eakin Kleiman. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. \$1.00.

Here is the best brief scientific discussion of race I have ever seen or read.

In 88 really exciting pages, including 30 pages of flashing diagrams and drawings, the booklet is a pictorial summary of other important UNESCO publications in the series "The Race Question in Modern Science."

Three fundamental questions are analyzed: Is there a pure race? Is there a superior race? Are there absolute and unchangeable race differences? The answer to each question, of course, is a great big NO.

Included are graphic descriptions of the mysterious functioning

of genes and chromosomes, and the development of human traits. For one reader at least, the presentation was immensely illuminating.

The Appendix of the little volume is especially useful. Here are carefully written statements on race and on racial differences, prepared by international committees of experts, whose names and affiliations are listed.

Here one can find scientific refutation of many of the myths and legends that so often confound our discussions of race relations.

—C.E.

America and the Mind of Europe, edited by Lewis Galantieri. Library Pubs., Inc. \$2.75.

How do the peoples of Europe feel about America? What do they most fear from this side of the Atlantic? These questions get fair treatment by ten competent men in related and interesting essays. Suggestive subtitles read: "400,000 'Diplomats' on the Loose"; "Appalling Alternatives"; "Does Europe Welcome American Leadership?"

The editor points out that it is the object of Russian Soviet diplomacy to drive a wedge between Europe and the United States, and then he outlines his estimate of what the success of such a policy might bring. This little book (125 pages) deals with the reluctance of the people of Europe to accept the

United States as a leader worthy to be followed. Both the common people and the intellectuals who create public opinion come in for consideration.

Europeans are said to think of American culture as mass-produced, too young, and a bit tawdry. They fear that we will insist upon our particularly successful variety of capitalism as an essential element in a way of life for all nations. They lack confidence in a leadership in Washington which seems divided and lacking in authority.

But new appreciations are growing on both sides of the Atlantic. The day of the caricatured tourist is gone. Exchange of students, increased travel, and much common interest in literature, the arts, and journalism, along with earnest concern in both official and unofficial circles, have already gone far in erasing the misunderstanding of former years. This book carries challenge and reassurance.

—Herbert Nelson Brockway

Hope and Help for the Alcoholic, by Harold W. Lovell, M.D. Doubleday & Co., Inc. \$2.75.

Readers who are looking for reinforcement in fighting the commercialized liquor traffic will not find it in this book. The author confines himself to a discussion of alcoholism and the alcoholic, except when he makes a few detours

to indicate his acceptance of social drinking as part of our present-day culture.

The most helpful phase of the book is the author's conclusion that "there is no such thing as a hopeless case of alcoholism." In the main, the book follows the present-day procedures of handling alcoholics. High tribute is paid to Alcoholics Anonymous. Considerable space is occupied in the describing of the possible physical causes of alcoholism when certain of the body glands function poorly. No conclusions, however, are permissible on this hypothesis.

Any ministers who possess *How to Help an Alcoholic*, by Clifford Earle, will not need the present volume by Dr. Lovell.

—Earl F. Zeigler

Inside, by Helen Bryan. With an Introduction by Henry J. Cadbury. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.00.

Here is the moving account of the most overwhelming experience in one woman's life. *Inside* is said to be the only firsthand story ever published of a term in the Federal women's penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia.

It is the tender record of how an intelligent, educated person became the friend and received the confidences of a number of girls, her fellow prisoners, whom life had treated badly.

The book is an important addition to the literature of penology. The author makes a strong plea for an organized effort toward providing aid and counsel for girls such as these about whom she writes, whose futures promise little and all too often nothing but a return to the "inside." There is evidence already that her writing may not have been in vain.

Why was Miss Bryan imprisoned? In 1945 she was cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for failing to produce the records of an organization she once served as Executive Secretary, which sent funds and medical relief to Spanish-Republican refugees in France, North Africa, Mexico, and other Latin-American countries. She preferred to involve herself in risk rather than others who had in good faith contributed to the venture. She was convicted and given a three-month sentence in 1948. After an unsuccessful appeal up to the Supreme Court, she entered Alderson in November, 1950.

Miss Bryan is the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. Between Wellesley and Alderson she served as a Y.W.C.A. group leader and as a race relations specialist.

We think many readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will want to read this unusual, sensitive, and convincing human document.

—C.E.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Dangerous Drift

THERE is a growing and ominous drift in our time toward acceptance, even by Christian people, of the Jesuitic thesis that, in the present danger, "the ends justify the means" and therefore men may plausibly resort to unworthy means for the sake of realizing worthy ends.

This philosophy disregards Emerson's insight that "the ends are inherent in the means." The ends do not justify the means. On the contrary, the means determine the ends. Idealistic ends pursued by evil means become corrupted and disappear. Men do not "gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles."

If the teachings of the Christian religion are practicable only under favorable conditions; if the Christian faith must say with the sundial, "I count only sunny hours," then the institutions and liberties that are derived from it cannot survive in the kind of world in which we are likely to have to live for a long time to come. If, on the other hand, Jesus spoke the truth when he said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," then this is the time to assert, not to abandon, his way of life, and to seek Christian ends by observing, not by violating, the laws of God.

—Paul Calvin Payne

Social Issues Challenge the Church

THE 165th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. convenes in Minneapolis at a time when, as never before, the Christian community in America is challenged to deal courageously with a number of critical and sensitive social issues.

It is well for the General Assembly to be reminded of the religious base from which it is called upon to speak to public questions. Believing as we do in the dignity and worth of persons, we must assess social situations and institutions in terms of what they do to the individuals who are affected by them. Everything that helps a person to be all that God wants him to be is right and good, and should be

encouraged by the Church. Whatever degrades a person, or in any way hinders him from being all that God intends him to be, is wrong and should be resisted and repudiated by the Church. We should be deeply concerned with the spiritual and moral implications of social conditions.

Two issues especially deserve attention:

The Issue of Communism

It may well be time for the General Assembly to say something definitive about the inherent antagonism between Russian Communism and the Christian faith. As Dr. Paul Wright has suggested, we ought to recognize that the dreams and goals of the Russian revolution are, in fact, distortions and aberrations of valid Christian hopes and doctrines. In its promise of a new world, the Russian version of Communism presents a set of ideals which have their easily recognizable counterparts in familiar Christian teachings. The deep difference is that the Russian revolution is completely godless in its philosophy and relates man to the State in such a way as to deny the Christian teaching of the essential worth and dignity of human personality.

All this suggests that the most convincing approach to the danger of Communism is for us, in the churches, to assert more strongly than ever our Christian teaching about man, and about his place in the world.

The Issue of Freedom

Are we ready to take a long, hard look at the weakening of traditional American freedoms that seem to go along with many forms of anti-Communist activity?

An ominous development has been the rise of the vigilante groups in many parts of the country which conduct unofficial investigations for the purpose of driving out of public life anyone who deviates from their own political creed. Such organizations as the Minute Women and the Liberty Belles have fostered extravagant attacks upon the United Nations and upon anything that savors of progressive education in public schools.

Vicious, indeed, has been the use of blacklists in the radio and television industries. Truly amazing, for example, is the influence of Laurence Johnson, a Syracuse supermarket chain operator, in putting the bee on artists in radio and television who have records for supporting liberal causes. Equally incredible is the continuing power of *Red Channels*, a 1950 private publication listing 151 actors and writers for having been associated in the past with "pinko" movements. The compilers of these blacklists are both accusers

and judges. The victims have no honorable chance to answer the accusations. In the meanwhile, the industry finds them unemployable, not because they are believed to be Communist sympathizers, but because they have become "controversial persons." The whole fantastic business needs to be examined in the light of Christian ethics.

Next Steps in Racial and Cultural Relations

SEVERAL years ago, the General Assembly affirmed the goal of "a non-segregated church and a nonsegregated society." This goal was given tremendous implementation in the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, a three-year project concluded in 1951 and directed by Dr. William McConaghy and Dr. Jesse Barber. The Institute was very effective in alerting the churches to the importance of this issue and to the facts of life about race relations in the Presbyterian Church.

Many believe that it is time to consider possible next steps toward the high goal of nonsegregation endorsed in 1946. Two proposals have been discussed.

First, it is strongly urged that there should be some sort of enrollment of the ministers of the denomination who are willing to support the Church's stand against racial discrimination and segregation.

If it were known that a thousand or fifteen hundred of our ministers are willing to join in a great commitment of this kind, the witness of our Church in this important field would be greatly strengthened. In one presbytery at least, a number of ministers have pledged to encourage one another in the steps they find it possible to take toward better race relations, both within and outside the churches.

Secondly, many good churchmen believe it is time to ask the General Assembly to clarify the very confused matter of law that relates to the receiving of members into local churches. Sessions now seem to have the right to refuse to receive into membership any person who seeks admission, and are not required to give any reason for their actions. It would seem to be contrary to the spirit of the law of the Church for any session ever to be influenced in its decision by the color of a person's skin, or by his station in a community. It would appear to be decidedly improper for a local church to maintain a policy of racial exclusion in its ministry and membership. By all that the law of our Church says, the terms of membership are a profession of faith in Christ and obedience to him. The list of appropriate questions for sessions to use in examining candidates for church membership appears in the *Manual*

of *Presbyterian Law for Church Officers and Members* (1951 and other recent editions), pages 75 and 76. It is significant that these suggested questions relate entirely to matters of Christian faith and life. This is a very tender question, but many believe it is time for us to face it.

Preview

THE editors believe that this will prove to be an unusually challenging and useful issue of our little magazine. It deals with several questions that will be before the 165th General Assembly in Minneapolis.

The first article, "Spiritual Dynamics for Peace and Justice," is by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, one of the outstanding churchmen in America in matters relating to world affairs. It presents a deeply Christian analysis of Soviet-American relations and offers four propositions that will interest every reader of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*.

The second article is by the Associate Secretary of the Department of Social Education and Action, Miss Margaret Kuhn. In this splendid piece of writing, Miss Kuhn is concerned with the importance of turning the social pronouncements of General Assembly into real life. Her article includes many insights and suggestions worthy of study.

The next article is a symposium on academic freedom in which a number of outstanding Presbyterian educators take part—Dr. George Gibson, Dr. Raymon Kistler, Dr. John Mackay, Dr. Franc McCluer, Dr. Charles Turck. These men have very important things to say on one of the most crucial issues of the day.

In the sanctuary section appear two splendid studies based on The Book of Amos which were presented by Dr. Norman Langford at the Christian Education National Staff Conference in March, 1953. Other studies from this series will be offered in forthcoming issues of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. Dr. Langford writes like a prophet about a prophet.

Again we present reports from the United Nations and on the Washington scene by Miss Mabel Head and Miss Helen Lineweaver.

The important statement on American freedom by the National Council of Churches appears on the back cover. This statement was written by Dr. Paul Payne and presented by him to the General Board of the Council on March 11, 1953.

—Clifford Earle

Spiritual Dynamics for Peace and Justice

By O. FREDERICK NOLDE, Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. Excerpts from an address before the Conference on U.S. Responsibility for World Leadership in 1953, called by the American Association for the United Nations, March 1, 1953. Used by permission.

SPIRITUAL and religious factors must be heeded as we seek positive solutions for the critical international problems of today. This is no easy task. We must avoid vague generalities that carry the ring of eternal truth but fail to come to grips with current realities. We must equally guard against the use of religion for the defense of selfish national interests and for the maintenance of a static condition where justice cries for change.

We seek a world situation where the problems that will continue to arise from conflicting national interests can be resolved without recourse to war. War with Russia can be avoided, and it must be avoided without compromise of basic convictions. There now seems to be a healthier and more widespread support for the United Nations as the instrument by which this objective can be promoted. The opponents of the United Nations, while still vocal in their criticism, are more clearly known to be disproportionately small

in number and not truly representative of the popular mind.

It is heartening, too, to note a recurring indication of a sense of need for guidance and strength which derive from a religious faith. This was apparent in the prayer of President Eisenhower at the time of his inauguration and has been further demonstrated by acts of high officials in our Government. In order to change conditions that had hitherto redounded to the advantage of Soviet Russia, and to place Moscow in a position of uncertainty as to what our next steps would be, it is quite evident at every point that our foreign policy is being intentionally stiffened.

These observations are made quite objectively. If they are correct, they provide a clue to the spiritual factors that the people of the United States must at this particular moment call into play. To crystallize the import of these factors, two Biblical symbols are suggested which should

command attention from all men of spiritual discernment:

1. In a threateningly divided world, recognize that there is one family of humankind upon the face of the earth.

2. In the process of stiffening policy in response to the exigencies of the moment, harden not your hearts.

These would appear to be imperative needs of the hour. We find ourselves obligated to use our resources, spiritual and material, in order to prevent Soviet Russia from extending the area of Communist influence by means of force. But we must constantly keep alive the goal of one human family, and we must keep our minds and emotions so attuned that we shall not only look for but actually encourage every possible break in the wall which divides the nations.

We must find and put to work the spiritual forces that will in reality produce the results desperately needed by the world at the level of international relations. To illustrate, but in no sense exhaustively to develop the possibilities here before us, I suggest four propositions:

1. A spiritual outlook of our people will substitute the offer of service for the claim to leadership.

We possess tremendous resources. We have high industrial potential. Our people are characterized by initiative and vigor. We have been spared the material devastation of

two world wars. If we use responsibly what we have at our disposal, we must inevitably exercise leadership.

Even in this hard-bitten world, service still remains the only sure pathway to leadership. We must capture something of the spirit that aroused this country when the people of the Netherlands were hard hit by the ravages of storm and flood. Our action was taken in the bond of sympathy and mutuality. How much more important is a similar motivation when we are equally threatened by the perils of a distraught world! As the claim to leadership gives way to the sense of partnership in the thinking of the American people, our formal national acts will more effectively extend the area of co-operation in freedom and justice, and will move farther in the direction of the one universal family which is our goal.

This holds true in the case of all nations with which we have contact, and especially with those which because of the recency of their independence are struggling for economic and political stability. A particularly fruitful field for expressing this sense of partnership appears in virtually all the activities of the United Nations. As yet only an imperfect symbol of world solidarity, it has served as an instrument to elevate the standard of human rights, to promote human betterment through its economic and social programs, to resist aggression, and to

make available its offices for the peaceful settlement of critical differences. It is in such undertakings that responsibility must be commensurate with resources and power. A manifest sense of partnership will go a long way toward dispelling fear and winning both respect and friendship. Where service is intelligent and sincere, leadership will take care of itself.

2. A spiritual emphasis may intensify unavoidable but not necessarily unhealthy tensions.

It is quite impossible to depict in brief form what one might call the spiritual complexion of the United States. In more strictly religious terms, it has been stated that:

"Our dedication, therefore, is to the progressive realization of the dignity and worth of man in every area of life—political, economic, social, and religious—to the worldwide achievement of man's individual freedom, under God, to think, to believe, and to act responsibly according to the dictates of his own conscience. This, we believe, is indispensable if God's will for man is to be fulfilled."

Will such a spiritual emphasis carried to its logical conclusion in international relations aggravate tensions? Within the Soviet Union there are many people who share beliefs of this kind. Moreover, Communism as an economic program for social reconstruction, when freed from its totalitarian aspects, has

points of contact with the social objectives we seek. However, Marxist Communism in its orthodox philosophy stands clearly opposed to the religious beliefs that we profess.

Such differences can never be removed by compromise or surrender of faith. They begin in the spiritual conception of man and move out into the realm of social institutions and the State. We must come to recognize, therefore, that differing beliefs and practices are normal in world society, now and in the future. Such differences can never be overcome by war. Even though conflicts of faith and practice are unavoidable, a dynamic and fruitful peace can prevail if people everywhere will renounce the effort to spread abroad their way of life by methods of intolerance.

3. A spiritual perception will mark out the pathway for peaceful competition of conflicting ideologies.

We find ourselves in a difficult position as we try to label ideas in such a way as to avoid ambiguity or the risk of misinterpretation.

At the present time, Soviet propaganda is giving preferential treatment to the possibilities of coexistence. A more explicit formula, such as peaceful competition of conflicting systems, is preferable. This does not carry with it a note of finality. It is therefore to be preferred because any totalitarian form of society that restricts man's rightful freedom and

denies his inalienable rights cannot survive in peaceful competition with a social structure where freedom can be exercised with responsibility.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, it seems wise to risk the use of the term "coexistence." In a very real sense, the only alternative thereto is an attempt to settle differences by conflict, and we know that no positive purpose can thereby be served. However, coexistence can not be acceptable if it means such separation into compartments as will prevent one system from having an impact upon the other. Moreover, we should attempt to specify in unmistakable terms the requirements under which we believe coexistence will become possible.

Sound strategy may dictate a stiffened policy and the effort to keep Moscow in a state of uncertainty as to what moves we next contemplate. However, if we are going to avoid the hardening of our hearts, this will profitably be complemented with public discussion about conditions

that must be met in order that peaceful competition may proceed. Such public discussion is important, but more is required of us.

4. A spiritual commitment will recognize our responsibility to take a bold initiative in meeting the conditions that we believe essential to peaceful competition of conflicting ways of life.

We are making every effort to carry forward a far-flung defense program with the avowed purpose of deterring aggression or of meeting it in the event that aggression should occur. By this vast diversion of human and material resources, it is also believed that time will be provided to permit recuperative forces to work their beneficial results, especially in countries that are exposed to the threat of Communism by virtue of economic or political instability.

It is our fervent hope that we shall never be called upon to use the arma-
(Continued on page 24)

Summer Planning

God and the Nations and *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*—If your group (young people, young adults, men's class, women's organization) have not engaged in a study of world concerns this year, they might want to plan a series of study during the summer months. *God and the Nations* (\$2.00, cloth; \$1.00, paper) and *Let Us Live for God and the Nations* (75 cents; 60 cents for 5 or more copies) will provide good factual material for such a course. A letter to the Department telling of the method used and the results of the training will be appreciated. Available from Westminster Book Stores.

Pronouncements — What Then?

By MARGARET E. KUHN, *Associate Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

ANOTHER General Assembly will convene this month, and speak to the Church and to the nation on critical and controversial matters. Its social pronouncements will be published in *SOCIAL PROGRESS* and possibly in *Presbyterian Life*. The great dailies and wire services will headline and feature Presbyterian concerns. Many, many people in our churches will be informed of them so it is timely to look at what must be done to translate information into commitment and action.

The social pronouncements each year direct the activities and responsibilities of the staff and Counseling Committee of the Department of Social Education and Action. They constitute, also, important guiding principles for the work of social education and action chairmen and secretaries in judicatories of our Church. They specifically recommend study and action projects for local church groups. Social education and action committees may not always agree with all aspects of General Assembly's social stands, but personal and spiritual integrity would suggest that all who carry social education and action portfolios should be willing and able to

interpret the actions of General Assembly fairly.

The future of the world may well be determined by the courage and creative leadership we apply in translating religion into life.

Our world is full of good resolutions adopted by the greatest institutions on earth—including the Christian churches. Indeed if our ailing and apprehensive planet needed only another set of declarations to make it whole, countless drafting committees would immediately roll up their shirt sleeves.

And this is not to say that resolutions are not significant, for they are! But their meaning must be measured not alone in the timeliness of well-turned phrases, but by the depth to which the resolution takes root in human conduct and personality.

Let's look at what usually happens. Time and time again church bodies meet, correctly diagnose the problem at hand, and state their Christian concern for it in such beautiful, resonant prose that all assembled can agree down to the last qualifying adverb. Then the sponsoring group go away congratulating themselves upon the important things that were said. All feel stimulated, for haven't

they clearly put themselves on the right side of the issue? There is such intense preoccupation with the issue that no energy is left to work on the problems it presents.

Action by Experiment

Church groups, particularly presbyteries, are often tempted to substitute *ideas about action* for *action itself*. Some who inwardly oppose action can save face and conscience by adopting a resolution that will be doomed to safe and decent burial in the records.

It's true that the discussion of the issue may have some educational value, but this obtains only to the degree that people approach the issue with open minds, and then respond to what they have learned in the discussion by changing their attitudes and forming new habits of thinking and acting.

All too often the people who serve on social education and action committees are unprepared for the truly creative experience of joint thinking. Many come to the task of studying a problem with opinions already formed, or even with resolutions in their hip pockets. Some overly aggressive members consider the thing a success only when they have bulldozed the rest into adopting their ideas and resolutions. The really educational process of helping the group as a whole to come to new and co-operatively achieved points of view is lost by the wayside.

The education-for-action process fails at still another point. Too often statements and resolutions are presented only for information, with no thought that they will change behavior or thinking.

Here's a simple illustration. An official from a state office of education made a school visit last fall. The teacher, who was a very good teacher, asked her to observe her class in health education. The lesson, she reports, was on nutrition, and specifically on the selection of a good, nourishing lunch. At the end of the class period the teacher gave a short test as a check both for herself and the students. Test papers showed that almost everyone in class had written down the proper group of foods for an excellent lunch—milk, fruit, a nutritious sandwich or hot dish, and a simple dessert.

By chance after class, teacher and observer entered the school cafeteria line directly following two of the students. Their choice of lunch was most illuminating. Both had a Coke, potato chips, and pie!

During lunch, teacher and observer discussed the obvious failure of that morning lesson. They agreed that (1) the teacher's goal was a good and practical one—a wise selection of food for a school lunch; (2) information about a wholesome noonday diet had been well presented; (3) the students had learned the facts about food well enough to write them down in the test; but (4)

the possession of the facts was not enough to cause the students to change their eating habits.

Further evaluation suggested that some of the information merely presented could have been put immediately in action in the class. The students might have actually prepared a lunch for themselves and eaten it. Through discussion and further learning by doing they could have planned a feeding experiment with animals, or a series of menus for a week. They could have had a Saturday luncheon party—purchased and cooked the foods they had learned were nutritious. A great variety of ways might further the process of integrating knowledge. All of them would take time and creative effort. But if teaching really resulted in changed attitudes and behavior, the time would be well spent.

Learn by Doing

There's a lesson here for us social actionists. In our Church's program of social education and action we have presented a great deal of information about social problems in pamphlets, bulletins, panel discussions, and sermons. In the process we have helped some people to distinguish fact from fallacy, and aroused them to respond as the high school students did in the test. They have put their knowledge to the test of seeking to share it with others in the form of resolutions. But here social action stops. Just as the health

teacher failed to help the students make the facts about food an actual part of the experience of eating, so do we fail to make Christian truths and standards part of Christian experience and living.

Take the matter of intergroup prejudice. Most people in our churches have been taught since earliest childhood to believe in one God, the Lord and Father of mankind. Christian educators and social action leaders have preached and lectured and distributed literally thousands of pamphlets and books on the rightness of brotherhood and on the sin and arrogance of discrimination. But we have not yet succeeded in making the facts or even the theology of human relations part of the daily lives of people. Unusually skillful education and experience of association will be needed for individual conviction and concern if we are even to approach General Assembly's goal of a nonsegregated church.

And merely *talking about* race relations and getting people together for programs on brotherhood will not necessarily motivate people to change their inner feelings and attitudes. The president of a women's association in a large suburban church had been particularly effective in promoting observance of Race Relations Sunday. She and her husband often had taken part in programs where intercultural and interracial matters were discussed. But

when a Negro family moved into the neighborhood they were among the first white families to join the stampede to sell.

Everyone's Responsibility

Some church members think of social education and action as the concern only of radicals, do-gooders, visionaries; but all of us are involved in social responsibilities because of the nature of our faith and the changing character of our world. Some sort of social change is constantly going on in every part of the universe, and every individual is affected in some way by these shifting forces. If Christians do not act responsibly on the problems that grow out of change, the dictators and demagogues will.

Intergroup hostilities and divisions have been destroying the spiritual heritage of Americans and blocking the development of Christian discipleship. While we are very conscious that tensions and fears exist, we do not always know how to deal with them without frustration.

Social scientists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists have been working at top speed in recent years to test and determine the ways by which individual and group attitudes are changed. They have analyzed the powerful social forces at work in society, and churches and presbyteries would do well to look at what they have discovered. Unless the church is involved with the com-

munity it serves, its ministry cannot really touch the lives of people. Yet the church is too often buffeted about by community forces, when it ought to be one of the strongest elements in the community.

With the church's guidance men can act responsibly and together to change their world, and bring new measures of selfhood and fulfillment to individuals and groups.

Too often social education and action programs for the churches have been considered only as measures in a crisis—to stop a race riot or a sudden rise in juvenile delinquency. Social education and action should be accepted as the planned and orderly co-operative effort of Christians to meet problems and resolve conflicts before they have developed into emergencies or crises.

There is no debate over the fact of social change in our individual lives and in the universe which is our home. But sharp conflict will continue over the means of dealing with the changes. So much is involved by the decisions we make that we cannot depend on random, haphazard solutions and happenstance.

At General Assembly this month we shall take annual inventory of our spiritual resources and responsibilities as a denomination. Under the judgment and will of God, let us seek guidance from him and each other for the months to come in making good and wise decisions about the kind of society we are fashioning.

Churchmen Speak on Academic Freedom —

A Symposium

ONE of the most hotly discussed subjects of the day is academic freedom—the freedom of the educator to fulfill his function in society, to learn and to teach in his special area of competence.

Never before in American history has this freedom been under such vicious and varied assaults as today. Under scores of banners, groups all across the country are investigating it and seeking to limit it. It is the subject of inquiry in three Congressional committees. Every important institution of learning in the country has been the victim of some kind of attack concerning it.

In a splendid article in *The New York Times Magazine* on April 12, Robert MacIver points out that every major social institution has its own unique function which requires an appropriate range of freedom. The Church needs one set of freedoms; the family another. Academic freedom is the freedom of the scholars, the educators, within their fields of study, research, and teaching.

We have asked a number of educators related to Presbyterian institutions of higher learning—colleges and theological seminaries—to state their views on the present crisis in academic freedom. We think all readers of *Social Progress* will be interested in what they have to say.

THERE is no more urgent problem before the country than that of bringing the investigative function of the Congress, and of the state legislatures, under control.

This investigative function belongs inherently to the powers of legislative bodies, its indispensable purpose being to gather the facts on which laws may be based.

Only within our present period has

this proper function of the Congress been abused and perverted into a means of inquisition. The device of the investigating committee has fallen into the hands of men of questionable purposes and of questionable records, and its uses extended far beyond its legitimate purpose. Lacking the legal restraints of defined procedures, they have resorted to methods that would not be toler-

ated in a police court, including the browbeating of witnesses, the publication of unsupported accusations and suspicions, and even the circulation of demonstrated falsehoods.

While these methods have been able to show small results in producing facts upon which intelligent laws may be based, they have resulted in distrust and disunity. It is idle, or vicious, to speak of defending the American way of life through methods that attack its academic, religious, and civil liberties at the source, and cast suspicion on whole segments of the national community such as the schools and churches, literature and the arts, and the responsible departments and branches of government as well.

The immediate need is for the enactment by the Congress of a proper measure defining the purpose and the procedures of legislative investigation. Such a measure, is clearly, the responsibility of the Congress over the manner by which their own committees pursue their work. The enactment should, by definition, redirect the purpose of the investigative power to its original intent of supplying the lawmakers with necessary facts. It should also define in detail the procedures permissible, bringing them clearly within the framework of Anglo-Saxon and American law as pertains to the nature of evidence, the protection of accused and of witnesses, the right of review and appeal.

Democratic opinion across the country should assert itself until such procedure is prepared, presented, and enacted; and proper restraints are placed upon those who, under pretense of finding subversives, are subverting the foundations of free institutions and the rights of free men.

Schools, churches, and the various departments and branches of government should withhold co-operation from the investigative bodies until such time as the Congress completes a legal definition of purposes and an act of procedure.

—George Miles Gibson, *Professor of Homiletics, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.*

I SINCERELY believe in academic freedom and feel that its preservation is as important as the establishment of the other freedoms.

We must all recognize that our freedoms end when they begin to interfere with the freedoms of others. The teacher's freedom does not include the freedom to teach anything that would be destructive to the freedoms we enjoy in a democracy.

In our Christian colleges, we adopt the policy of employing only Christian teachers, because we feel that what a man believes will inevitably be reflected in his teaching.

In the present controversy, I cannot see how a man who accepts the atheistic teachings of Communism can feel that academic freedom gives

him the privileges of a professor's position.

The situation is changed, when the man changes his own attitude, and I believe, where there is confession of error, we should give consideration to the Christian principles of *forgiveness*. Perhaps we are making it too difficult for Communists to renounce their position, when we give them reason to believe that renunciation will mean ostracism.

In the last analysis, I would take it for granted that while we all seek to uphold the principles of academic freedom, each individual case must be considered on its merits.

—Raymon Kistler, *President, Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pa.*

SOMETHING is happening in these days which every true American, especially every true Christian, should view with concern. A new form of idolatry, a religious devotion to something other than God and his Kingdom, is gripping the popular mind in our country. Detestation of Communism is producing in certain circles a religious fervor, and this fervor is creating a substitute religion. A passionate, unreflective opposition to the Communist demon is coming to be regarded as the one and only true expression of Americanism and even of Christianity.

It is proper to abhor Communism. Communism is an evil; let there be no mistake about that. But the spirit to which I refer, this new cult of

negation, is something quite different. It is a form of idolatry, which teaches its devotees that the one absolute for which they should live at the present time is to fight Communism.

It is perilous for any human being to live by negation. No man dare dedicate his life in an absolute sense to combat something unless he proclaims and incarnates in his own life the positive values for which men should stand. Two perils are inherent in this attitude of religious negation.

1. Fanatical anti-Communists admit as partners with them in their crusade totalitarian elements of the Fascist type. Let there be no mistake about this. The victory of Fascists—political, social, or religious—would be as disastrous for the United States and humanity as would the victory of Communism.

2. The second peril that is latent in a crusading negation is this: Zeal to unmask and arraign Communists and alleged "fellow travelers" leads to a disregard of those freedoms to which a person is entitled as a human being. There is emerging a pattern of inquiry which is new in our American heritage: investigation is becoming inquisition. Attempts are made to violate the shrine of personal opinion, and to indict a man for his private judgments, expressed or unexpressed in public. Men are being held guilty on account of casual associations which, in the course of their lifetime, they may have had

(Continued on page 18)

The United Nations—

An Exciting Subject for Study

IN 1946, as the United Nations began to take shape, research into public attitudes and knowledge of world affairs in the U.S.A. revealed a shocking ignorance of and indifference toward the outside world—at a time when Americans were obviously being thrust into world leadership.

In this nation where high-speed mass communication is universal, it seemed important to analyze why people know so little of and care so little about the rest of mankind.

Visits to public schools showed that almost no high schools teach world affairs, and consequently are turning out millions of so-called “geopolitical illiterates” every year.

Why? There are two reasons: the first, philosophical; the second, technical. Philosophically, we all came from “somewhere else” originally to the land of Utopia—America. Behind us were the evils, the autocracy, the intrigue, the death and destruction of the world. Here was virgin territory, a new way of life. Why teach about the old? Why relate our daily life to that which we had consciously rejected?

The second reason world affairs is not taught in our nation's schools is technical. It takes about two years to plan, write, edit, manufacture, and sell a textbook. Once sold it must, of course, be used for several years. Of what use is a textbook on world affairs that is more than two years old?

So book publishers and school systems have a kind of unwitting, negative conspiracy to leave world affairs to the newspapers and commentators who are good at sharpening student prejudices learned at home, but add little to their basic knowledge and understanding.

Only a current publication, con-

Side One



SOCIAL PROGRESS

Your Affairs

By WALLACE THORSEN

President and Publisher of the U.N. Gram.

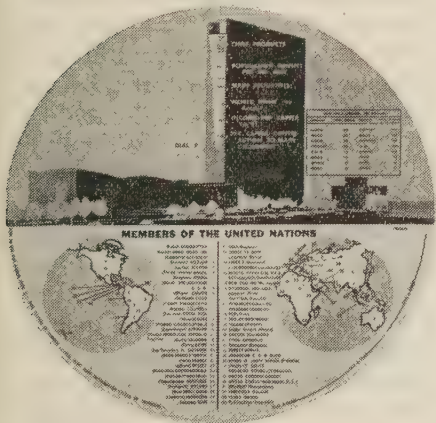
centrating exclusively on world affairs, geared as a teaching tool to the school curriculum, could possibly be practical. There were other media, such as dynamic presentation, color, picture stories for impact, background material condensed for quick study by the teacher.

Out of these techniques grew the three-section weekly called *U. N. GRAM*. Today, after three years of publishing, the *U. N. GRAM* has earned a respected place in U. S. education. About 10 per cent of the high schools now use the *U. N. GRAM* service, in whole or in part. (In addition to the three-section weekly, there are monthly full-color, 35mm. filmstrips; a new remote-control filmstrip projector; a permanent, four-color chart of the UN in action; and the new and fascinating *DIAL-A-GRAM*, a disk encyclopedia of the United Nations and the world, which Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt praised very highly in her column recently, saying, "I think every home should have one of these *DIAL-A-GRAMS*.")

A growing number of adult discussion groups are "discovering" the *U. N. GRAM*. While the entire program costs more than some groups wish to spend, it is quite practical to share a \$35 subscription among several

groups. The aim of this project is to make the need, validity, and rewards of the brotherhood of man on a world-wide basis apparent to all. That is what Christ taught us, and we'd better start practicing what he preached before atomic war forces us to begin all over again.

Side Two



The *Dial-A-Gram* is a teaching device on the U. N. and world affairs consisting of two flat ten-inch disks, shown above, that rotate on a central axis. U. S. Copyright, 1952, World Copyright, 1952, U. N. Gram Publishing Co., Inc., 220 East 46th Street, N. Y. C. 17. Order from the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Bldg., Phila., 7, Pa. 50 cents.

with people whose ideas or attitudes might be regarded as heretical.

When fear dominates the popular mind, as it does today, the tendency arises to choose a private deity for one's personal devotion. There are people who are becoming idol worshipers in a very subtle and perilous manner. They transform the glorious slogan "This nation under God" into "My nation, thou art my God." There is an Americanism whose devotees believe implicitly that the highest role of education, and even of the Christian religion, is to serve their idol, that is, their private interpretation of patriotism and their conception of national welfare. In such a situation it is well to affirm, and to make clear, what is involved in the affirmation that "*Jesus Christ is Lord.*" He alone, and the Kingdom which he came to establish, constitute for Americans, as for all humans, the one and only object of absolute allegiance.

—John A. Mackay, President, Princeton Theological Seminary.

IHAVE been concerned about the Congressional investigations and the other evidences of what seem to be hysterical attacks upon academic freedom and upon freedom of thought both in the schools and in the church.

I have not followed the current

Congressional inquiries in sufficient detail to say that they have not at any time served any useful purpose. I do not believe that a Communist teacher should be allowed to teach in our schools and colleges. I do believe, however, that the primary responsibility for the protection of our school system and our institutions of higher learning from the infiltration of Communists must rest in the hands of school and university administrators and school boards and boards of trustees.

What is sometimes referred to as "McCarthyism" is a greater threat to our freedom than is McCarthy, or any single man. It is difficult for me to define it, but I believe it grows out of fear in time of tension. We need to acquire an increased patience and a deeper faith in our way of life. We cannot settle a great conflict between ideologies by force, nor by fiat, and we must not employ the methods of the totalitarian in an effort to defend ourselves.

We must fight Communism with all our strength and our strength is lessened, not increased, by adopting the methods of the Communists. The exclusion of literature about the United Nations and the work of UNESCO in one of the public schools in a city, the State Department's request to book publishers that books written by "Communist

nists, fellow travelers, or persons who might be controversial" not be exported—a request later rescinded—are evidence that in our fear and anxiety we may desert our faith. We believe in freedom of thought, not in control of thought; in the right to dissent, not in the party line; in education that is free, not in education that is propaganda for a particular viewpoint. It is a pernicious fear that seeks to conform all individuals to one pattern of thought in the name of democracy. When intolerance of the opinion of another denies him the right to express it, when mind cannot meet mind in free and honest discussion, vigorous mental life is not likely, and healthy community life is not possible.

—F. L. McCluer, *President, Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Mo.*

IREGARD the preservation and advancement of human freedom as the paramount task of our generation, as it has been in every generation since Jesus Christ revealed the dignity of man as a child of God. Because of his status as a child of God, every man has equality of right with every other man, and special privileges unearned by special services are inherently and morally wrong.

The failure of Christian churches in our generation to perceive the significance of the doctrine of freedom, particularly of academic freedom, is the most discouraging event

of my lifetime. There was a time when any Christian teacher could speak his mind freely and know that, if his ideas were unpopular, he would still be welcomed within the Christian fellowship that knew and trusted him.

If the Christian teacher today tries to tell what the full import of Christian freedom and Christian idealism is to him, he invites administrative questioning under the spur of zealous trustees and may even lose his job. If he is prominent enough, he may be called to Washington for interrogation. If he claims academic freedom, the press and the business world will scream with laughter at "that meaningless phrase" and assume his guilt because he exercises a Constitutional right.

The Christian churches could have prevented this situation by rebuking those powerful but thoughtless members of churches who distrust and therefore belittle the academic world. There is no hope for any society where its original and creative brain power is ridiculed or threatened or coerced or purchased or jailed. As Christians, we members of churches are obligated to set up a fellowship of love and understanding which will welcome the disturbed and distracted members of our faculties and give them new courage to assert their freedom as free teachers of the free.

McCarthyism delendum est!

—Charles J. Turck, *President, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.*

Sanctuary

AMOS—FREEDOM'S APOSTLE

The first two in a series of worship services by **NORMAN F. LANGFORD** at the Christian Education National Conference, Buck Hill Falls, March 7-12. Dr. Langford is Editor in Chief, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

I. Amos, chs. 1; 2

The first two chapters of Amos are made up of a series of dread pronouncements upon various nations. Scholars seem to doubt that all these were originally part of Amos' prophecy; but this makes no great difference for our purpose, inasmuch as even those that are unquestionably original, and not added later, follow a striking pattern. First Amos denounces the nations round about Judah and Israel—the pagan peoples. He denounces them for barbarous and cruel conduct in warfare. Thus we read:

"Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron." (Ch. 1: 3.)

"Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever." (Ch. 1: 11.)

"Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of the children of Ammon, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have ripped up the women with child, of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border." (Ch. 1: 13.)

"Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime." (Ch. 2: 1.)

All these denunciations are accompanied by appropriate predictions of doom. Such atrocities will not go unavenged by the God of righteousness. But the most lengthy pronouncement is reserved for Israel. This begins:

"Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; That pant after the dust of the

earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek: and a man and his father will go in unto the same maid, to profane my holy name: And they lay themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge by every altar, and they drink the wine of the condemned in the house of their god." (Ch. 2: 6-8.)

IT ENDS with a prophecy that the people of Israel, who have oppressed the poor, and compounded their offense with unchastity, will be crushed by an inescapable doom.

Now it is remarkable that the offenses of Israel, gross and even cruel though they are, scarcely have the dramatic qualities of the barbarities committed by her neighbors. If the poor have suffered injustice, that is not so awe-inspiring as the atrocities attributed to other peoples. If the altars of the Lord have been profaned, that at least is not in quite the same category as burning to lime the bones of a hostile king. Yet for her comparatively petty offenses Israel is brought into line with these other nations, with their horrible and appalling crimes; and, indeed, the series works up to its climax with the case of Israel, and the sternest threat falls upon her. To have been insensitive toward justice, to have been ruthless with the poor, links Israel with the perpetrators of war atrocities.

Such crimes against humanity as

we hear related of these ancient peoples have long aroused indignation. Anyone on the receiving end of atrocities can perceive the horror and the shame and the guilt.

Those who have civilized standards of behavior are continually amazed by how much there is in the world of human brutality beyond anything that animals could conceive or perpetrate. The human mind is infinitely resourceful in devising terrifying atrocities. The imagination is staggered by the accounts that come to us of Russian slave labor, of barbarous disregard for life behind the iron curtain, of the ruthless and unscrupulous and fanatical will to dominate that appears to be characteristic of Communists. We need not be told twice of how appalling are these facts. There is no excusing them, and no condoning them.

These monstrous evils have not come about in our democratic way of life. Neither had the people of Israel, in the time of Amos, burned the bones of kings to lime nor ripped pregnant women with swords. But in matters of good and evil, comparisons are not very satisfactory. In fact, they are totally misleading.

And we, who so rightly and naturally shrink from the horrors of Nazism and Communism—we who must not only denounce but oppose these terrors—are in the position of having to be judged in the light of our own heritage. What are the in-

gredients of the Christian heritage in which we stand? Mercy and justice and magnanimity, truthfulness, respect for one another, graciousness and kindness, faith and freedom—we have known all these, but do we know them now? Yet we cannot plead ignorance of them either. And behind them all, and back of all the history in which we proudly claim a place, the gentle Christ stands: and he it is who rebukes the suspicions and slanders, the tyrannies and persecutions, that threaten to reduce our life to a madhouse.

THE task of Christian teaching is not to point out the obvious; it is not simply to prove that atrocities are bad and that brutality is a sin, but to bring to the light of God's judgment and his mercy the sordid facts about the life into which we, standing within a Christian tradition, have begun to fall. Perhaps the task that awaits our effort is like that of Amos—namely, to point out what really ought to be very obvious about the situation in which we find ourselves in our own home territory. It is to a dedication to this self-searching and prophetic ministry that we are called: rationalizing nothing, condoning nothing, deceiving ourselves or others in nothing, but in fear and in love telling the simple truth. If such an assignment should eventually destroy us, it has destroyed better men and women than we. But that is no such destruc-

tion as would be ours, if we were silent about what we see and know; whereas the truth we tell, in our day of testing as unhonored prophets, is all the honor that we could ask or need.

II. Amos 4: 6-12

In these last dramatic words one gets the impression of two dimensions of thought. On the one hand, Amos is foretelling the fate that is presently to befall Israel at the hands of Assyria. That is to say, he is pointing toward a historic event that is soon to take place: the destruction of Israel as a nation. On the other hand, one senses that Amos is not thinking of this event as just one more episode. There will be a finality about it, in which Israel, stripped of everything, will stand face to face with God: In her coming defeat at the hands of a human enemy, she will encounter, not simply military defeat and political ruin, but God's judgment upon her. This will be history; but this piece of history will be like the unveiling of God's face, which no man can see and live.

Now, though what Amos meant seems clear enough, one has to pause over the interpretation of it. "Prepare to meet thy God." That kind of ultimatum carries the feeling of something more ultimate than an event which is now ancient history. Was Amos perhaps putting an exaggerated interpretation on the fate of a small kingdom about to be swal-

lowed up by a larger power? Did he take this event more seriously than we would take it, looking back at it with the perspective of thousands of years of history?

We could say that in anything that happens to us—personally, or as a people—we may find God. But that would not quite get the force of the prophet's point. This dread calamity which he expects stands as the culmination of a series of disasters in which the people might have perceived the presence of God, but failed to do so. In this one, there will be no possibility of missing him. The reality of this event will somehow be the reality of God.

THIS kind of awe-inspiring potentiality is what confronts us today. Whether or not we shall blow the world up with hydrogen bombs remains to be seen. Whether civilization is to be destroyed in our time is not yet clear. Whether in this country the light of freedom will go out, and men unfit to live will govern us, has not yet been disclosed. All these things, and many others like unto them, do, however, stand within the realm of possibility. And if events prove as fatal as we sometimes fear, or as we at least know they could be, we shall find that within history there is such a thing as coming face to face with that ultimate reality which is God. In the many tribulations our generation has known, there has not been quite this sense of being on the

threshold of something ultimate and inescapable. We have hardly been chastened; we have not even learned much wisdom from our multiplicity of troubles. But how far can we fall before reaching bottom? It can't go on in this direction forever. History can have those tremendous and unimaginable movements, when events have two dimensions: the outward occurrence and the reckoning with God.

In the face of all these dread possibilities we may, however, be awestruck and yet undismayed. Since it so often happens that we never quite believe in God so long as we have anything else to believe in, there is cause for thankfulness for whatever removes the veil that divides him from us. Besides, while it has not yet come to pass this way, there is nothing to prevent us hoping, and striving also, to meet our God in a gentler way. It could be that he who taught us mercy and justice could prevail on us to practice them; that he who has been patient with us could make us patient with other men and with events; that he might subdue our irrational impulses and slow us down as we head toward suicide; that he could make love and liberty and forbearance come alive for us again, as he has done before.

Either way, the hard way or the gentle, we shall meet our God. In such a time as this, either by destruction or by redemption, the Lord is at hand.

SPIRITUAL DYNAMICS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

Continued from page 8

ments that we are building. If that hope is to be realized, we need to give diligent attention to the affirmative steps that we can take in order to make peaceful competition possible. Some of these steps may not be feasible so long as the fighting continues in Korea. However, we ourselves must be prepared to move forward—now or at the earliest possible moment—and we should make clearly known to the whole world our readiness to proceed in this fashion.

A fuller analysis than is possible in this presentation will reveal necessary changes in our present outlook or practice and new opportunities for demonstrating our peaceful bent. The suggestions that follow in no remote sense equate the policies and practices of the United States with those of Soviet Russia. Our own moral integrity must be jealously guarded and our actions must measure up to our own highest standards, no matter what the standards of others may be.

There are many areas of international action where we could work with the Soviets without jeopardizing national or international security. The U.S.S.R. may not yet be ready to go along, but we want to be sure that Congress and the people of the United States will preponderantly support our representatives to

the United Nations and other international organs in seeking Russia's co-operation on affirmative tasks.

There is need for us to review our position on the reduction and international regulation of national armaments. Moral and political factors, as well as a mathematical approach, demand further consideration if real progress is to be made.

While subversive activities in our own land have to be sternly opposed, methods for doing this, which have become all too widespread, are defying our democratic tradition and jeopardizing our reputation abroad. The people of the U.S. reject coercive procedures which deprive them of the fundamental right to freedom of thought and expression, and they want to repudiate the leaders who are making political capital of such procedures. Cultural and religious groups ought to do all within their power to promote interchange of ideas and persons to the end that mutual understanding may increase between the peoples of the United States and Russia.

In this area of new nationalism, we must continue to recognize the independent rights of smaller nations and make every effort to refrain from unfair pressures, be they economic or political. We shall do well to support public discussion in the United Nations of claims to inde-

pendence and such action as will not call upon the United Nations to do more than it is now able nor open the door to Communist domination. We must continue to emphasize our position that self-determination applies not only to the traditional colonial areas but to all peoples, and that the realization of that right shall be sought by peaceful means.

In the interest of justice and as a contribution to the observance of human rights everywhere, we must speed the process of securing equal treatment of all people within our borders, regardless of race, creed, or color. At the same time, our vision should be broadened to realize that varying conditions call for different national, political, economic, and social systems, but that in all instances, individual freedom must be complemented with social responsibility.

The point of these brief illustrations is to underscore the moral responsibility that rests upon us continuously to look for the part we can play in the actions which it is within our power to take—in improving the world situation.

Some people may be disposed to call all this foolish idealism, sentimentalism, and wishful thinking which flouts reality. If such an indictment is correct, then there would

seem to be only one answer. In the absence of positive solutions, the armaments race will surely lead to war, and we, the people of the United States, shall be the more culpable because we have not measured up to the ideals we profess or to the responsibility that justly rests upon us. It is possible that war may come, no matter what we do. That prospect is terrifying. But let not war come to pass through our instrumentality, by sins either of commission or of omission.

As the call to this Third Annual Conference states, "what is needed now is a bold educational program on what the United Nations was set up to do, what it has accomplished, what are the problems before it, and how its proceedings would be improved." In pursuing this task and carrying forward our work with the United States Mission and in the deliberations of the United Nations, we must patiently and courageously move toward our common objective. As representatives of the people we, together with the officials of our Government, may in the face of frustration and discouragement, find satisfaction in remembering that the spiritual power which we seek to release for the healing of the nations is available for our personal reassurance and strength.

Those of us who profess that our national acts must be animated by a sense of moral responsibility cannot escape the obligation of directing our eyes upon ourselves.

—O. Frederick Nolde

Christian ACTION

UNITED NATIONS NEWS

These notes are being written just after seeing the induction of the new Secretary-General—Dag Hammarskjöld, of Sweden, who succeeds Trygve Lie. Some excerpts from his message may be interesting: "This great organization grew out of the pain and turmoil of the last war. It welded together in what should be a continued co-operation for world peace all those who had fought against oppression. By all who have sacrificed themselves, by all now sacrificing themselves in the fight for freedom and peace, this organization has in the words of one of the greatest leaders of democracy been 'consecrated . . . far above our poor power to add or detract.' Quoting further from the Gettysburg Address: 'It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us.'

"In concluding, may I remind you of the great memory of Easter just celebrated by the Christian world; I do so because of what that memory tells us of the redeeming power of true dedication to peace and good will toward men. I have tried to indicate the spirit in which I shall go to the work when called upon to take

part in the efforts of the United Nations organization to justify the hopes of all its members."

Status of Women

A new delegate from the U. S. A., Mrs. Lorena Hahn, of Omaha, Nebraska, has recently been appointed a delegate to the UN Commission on the Status of Women. She has long been interested in public service, was vice-chairman of the Republican Postwar Policy Committee, and chairman of the Nebraska State Board of Control which directs the operation of a number of state institutions. In 1948 she went to Germany as a welfare worker in the Zone of Occupation and became Chief of Women's Affairs.

The Commission on the Status of Women succeeded in getting a resolution sent to all countries urging that women have equal political rights. They have studied questions of discrimination and laws as they affect women. The delegates belong to different races, speak different languages, have different religions, come from different cultural backgrounds, hold different positions, yet unite in trying to secure equality be-

fore the law and advancing opportunities for women everywhere.

WHO

"Health is wealth" declares Dr. Brock Chisholm, director of the World Health Organization. "The lesson is simple and clear; if sickness and poverty go hand in hand, so also do health and prosperity. And the way to world health and prosperity is through international action." The World Health Organization, established to promote better health on a world-wide scale, continues to put all its resources at the disposal of those who are determined that this struggle for man's survival shall be brought to a glorious conclusion. What have they done? WHO has given direct aid to more than 100 Governments and territories and has more than 200 projects under way in 62 countries. In Burma, seven specialists from WHO assisted by twenty-five Burmese health workers set out to control malaria over an 800 square mile area and reduced it 80 per cent. The Burmese Government as a result has launched a five-year plan. In Transvaal, South Africa, the antimalaria campaign increased the amount of land under

production sixteenfold. WHO has awarded 2,600 fellowships for the training of workers, and helps many countries to develop health and welfare services. Attention is also given to elimination and control of tuberculosis, yaws, and other widespread diseases. Why not subscribe to the monthly WHO *Newsletter*, Office of Public Information, Pan American Sanitary Bureau, 1501 New Hampshire Ave., N. W., Wash. 6, D. C.?

Small Nations Find Hope

Samoa—Western Samoa petitioned the Trusteeship Council for a legislative assembly with native representation. A visiting mission was set up, talks with native leaders instituted, and in due time the Legislative Assembly was created and is at work.

Libya—In 1949 the General Assembly adopted a resolution looking to the independence of Libya by 1952. A commission helped the Libyans in framing their constitution, and independence became a reality in December, 1951.

Somaliland—By action of the General Assembly and with help Somaliland will be constituted an independent nation in 1960.

—Mabel Head, *UN Observer*

Social Progress

If you have not provided your SEA committee with individual subscriptions to *Social Progress*, the June issue would be a good starting point. It will carry the pronouncements of the 1953 General Assembly. Every committee member should have a copy. \$1.00 a year; special club rates. Write to the Department of Social Education and Action.

★ *Citizenship* ★

☒ The first months of the Eisenhower Administration have become history, as we go to press, with some definite trends in evidence though little actually accomplished, as yet, in the legislative field. The ball has been started rolling toward economy, the President has spoken out forcefully toward a revamping of our foreign policy, and a new Cabinet post for Health, Education, and Welfare has been established.

At this writing, however, practically all of the President's eleven-point legislative program remains to be enacted. This is causing Congressional leaders to revise their estimates of a hope for adjournment in early July, and talk is being heard of a recess by August 1, if their work is not completed, with a session in the fall.

Housing—By a record vote of 245-157 the House of Representatives has voted to kill the low-rent public housing program for the coming year. The President, the Bureau of the Budget, and the new Housing Administrator joined in requesting a continuance of the program at current levels, but a bipartisan group joined in knocking this item out of the bill. At press time, there was hope that the Senate would come to the rescue of the program and perhaps in conference be able to persuade the House to rescind its action.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements—The twenty-year-old trade agreements program seems in serious difficulty as we go to press. The President has asked for a one-year extension of the present act, which is scheduled to expire in June. However, the Simpson Bill, upon which hearings are now in progress in the House, contains so many restrictions sought by high tariff advocates as to completely hamstring the program and deprive the President of important trade policy powers. While Mr. Eisenhower has indicated his disapproval of certain items in this bill no other measure has been introduced by the Administration.

With time running so short until the present act expires, prompt and emphatic action is needed to preserve this program.

Immigration and Refugees—The President has sent to Congress a request for legislation "within the framework of the immigration laws" to permit the entrance into the United States of 240,000 European refugees over the period of the next two years. First reactions to this request on Capitol Hill were cool and there were indications that the measure would face an uphill battle.

American Indians—The House has approved a bill providing for a thorough investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to determine when

the Indians can be freed of all Federal controls and what functions of the Bureau can be transferred or abolished. A seven-man subcommittee headed by Representative Harrison (R., Wyo.) has been appointed to make the investigation. Some of the hearings will be held in tribal areas. It is expected that the committee may recommend the release of at least three or four tribes from Government supervision.

Social Security—At this writing, prospects are dim for the actual enactment of amendments and additions to the existing social security law in this session of Congress. There is every indication that committees of both Houses will carefully scrutinize this whole problem.

The House Ways and Means Subcommittee working on the matter has secured the services of a former Brookings Institution expert to help with their study. Among major concerns of the Subcommittee will be extending coverage to groups not now covered, the advisability of increasing benefits, permitting retired workers to receive their benefit payments irrespective of other income they may receive, and allowing full old-age benefits to workers permanently disabled before retirement age.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—A \$9,814,333 appropriation for this Fund has been dropped from the Mutual Security Administration budget being prepared for Congress. At

press time there was no official word that the cut would be restored. This item would have included funds that were not appropriated under the original \$16,481,000 authorization legislation.

Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said on the floor of the Senate late in April that there was a "sense of genuine urgency" in deciding United States policy toward this Fund. "A child starving cannot wait until January 1, 1954, until we can settle high policy questions." He urged that Congress "take immediate action" to provide the \$9,814,333 stop-gap funds for the agency.

Since this organization is an "emergency" operation of the UN there seems justification for singling it out for special attention. A review of the Fund's activities will be made by the UN General Assembly this fall with a view toward determining whether it shall be put on a permanent basis.

Rural Libraries—A bill to extend public library services to rural and other areas which do not now have access to libraries has been introduced by a bipartisan group of Senators. The measure would cost the Federal Government up to \$7,500,000 annually, the exact amount depending on matching contributions from the states. The program would be administered and controlled by state and local governments.

—Helen Lineweaver

About Books

Citizens of the World, by Stringfellow Barr. Preface by Justice William O. Douglas. Doubleday & Co., Inc. \$3.00.

We concur with Justice Douglas in believing that *Let's Join the Human Race*, by Stringfellow Barr, is one of the most important political tracts of our time.

The present volume is an elaboration of the daring ideas developed in the former, smaller pamphlet.

This is a frank discussion of the bad state of American relations with other countries, particularly with the two thirds of the world's population who are seeking their place in the sun. Dr. Barr pleads for a courageous new policy and program by which our country may begin to meet the challenge of the world's vast need without hypocrisy and arrogance.

He calls for the establishment of an International Development Authority, in effect, a world-wide TVA dedicated to raising the living standards of the underdeveloped countries. He would have this set up as a vast United Nations undertaking to which our nations would pledge maximum support. He sees in this tremendous venture the only sure hope for peace and survival.

This is at once a disturbing and an inspiring book. I do not believe Dr. Barr's thesis will receive serious consideration in the 83d Congress. But I cannot help wishing that our country would dare to attempt some brave new approach to peace and order.

Let every minister read and ponder *Citizens of the World*.

—Clifford Earle

Human Crisis in the Kingdom of Coal, by Richard C. Smith. Friendship Press. \$1.25.

This excellent book indicates a greater crisis in the Kingdom of Coal than in most other socioeconomic strata. Based on observations from West Virginia to Ludlow, from the Rhondda Valley in Wales to Pas-de-Calais in France, studies made on a Hazen Foundation grant, this book covers the economic and personal oppressions of the miner and his family. The picket lines, ghost towns, and bread lines are here delineated with personal significance far beyond the power of sociological survey.

More significant than the description of problems of the Kingdom of Coal is the over-all question, How has and is the Church faring among

the miners? All too often the answer is, Not well. In Wales, attendance at chapel is at an all-time low. In one area of West Virginia, a survey revealed that only 17 per cent of Protestants were members, compared to the national average, 53.3 per cent.

Can the Church come back? The symbols of deliverance are real: active church participation in economic and personal life of the miner and family, co-operative stores, homestead developments, marriage counseling, and other vital reforms. The author's own ten years at the Mountaineer Mining Mission near Morgantown, West Virginia, suggest other keys, as do priest-miners and New Life Movements in Europe and the United States.

A must for coal-community church people, this book serves well everyone interested in the man who labors and his economic and Christian needs.

—*Ellis Wynn Roberts*

The Uprooted, by Oscar Handlin. Little, Brown & Company. \$4.00.

The author has indicated his theme in the introduction to this book: "My theme is emigration as the central experience of a great many human beings." With sensitivity and imagination, Mr. Handlin has analyzed the experience of emigration. Under his pen people come to life, and we see the turmoil inside them as they face the great complexi-

ties of moving from a circumscribed peasant existence into the dismaying, overwhelming life in an alien world. What has been done here is to give the reader access to the sense of insecurity and bewilderment which the immigrant knows as he moves from a situation where everything has its proper place to a new one where nothing seems to have a place.

Americans, thinking of this as a land of opportunity, have hardly dreamed of the tremendous disruption emigration represented. What's more, the people of this generation can hardly imagine what emigration was like a hundred years ago, when ships ran mostly by sail and were small, or when sanitation even in big cities was primitive. One salutes the survivors of emigration even as he notes the sadness in their faces—who wouldn't be sad, having been uprooted? And yet one senses the wonder of promise in it too, for with the uprooting came liberation and the discovery of being an individual, and this is not a loss but a gain.

—*Paul C. McFarlin*

GUIDES TO THE THOUGHT OF: Karl Barth, Nicholas Berdyaev, Emil Brunner, Karl Jaspers, Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr. Pamphlet series, by E. L. Allen. The Philosophical Library, Inc.

This series is intended to open the door just a little way to a better understanding of six men whose

writings have influenced and continue to affect human thinking and behavior. The main reason for this review in *SOCIAL PROGRESS* is that all these books bear upon the field of social education and action in one way or another. Reinhold Niebuhr, for example, cannot discuss the profound issues of our day without relating them to both theology and Christian conduct.

The same might be said of all the other writers in this series. Karl Barth, who seems so remote at times from the problems dealt with by SEA, is really never far from the subject when he interprets the Word of God to be not only what God asked of Samson or of Paul long ago but what he asks of me here and now.

All the writers deal with the nature of God and man, of the relationships between God and man and man and man. All the writers have had a struggle to restate the religious and materialistic view of things. Some of them have not yet finished their thinking and are still creating additional material for our generation (and perhaps future generations) to assimilate. It was interesting to this reviewer to find that Mr. Allen selected Karl Jaspers as his favorite among the six—favorite in the sense that he felt a deep debt to Jaspers and records his philosophy as fundamentally religious in spirit.

Probably no one should buy these pamphlets unless he intends to read one or more of the works of the re-

spective authors. Only then would the pamphlets fulfill their purpose.

—Earl F. Zeigler

From Slavery to Freedom, A History of American Negroes, by John Hope Franklin. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. \$3.75.

This is a comprehensive survey of a thousand years in the dramatic epic of the Negro citizens of America and their forebears in distant Africa. The book answers the need for a balanced, accurate, readable presentation of the great story of an important segment of our population.

Dr. Franklin, a Harvard-trained historian now on Howard University's faculty, writes with restraint, but the facts themselves make this a moving narrative.

The more than 650 pages are thoroughly documented. The fine index makes the volume doubly useful as a reference book. There are fifteen pages of valuable illustrations. The scope of the work is suggested by the following random listing of a few of the thirty chapter titles: "Early Negro States in Africa," "The Slave Trade," "Servitude and Slavery in the Southern Colonies," "Latin America's Bondmen," "That Peculiar Institution," "Civil War," "Losing the Peace," "Canadian Negroes," "In Pursuit of Democracy," "A Harlem Renaissance," "The Negro and World Problems."

We heartily recommend!

—Clifford Earle

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

General Assembly Stresses Freedom

WE BELIEVE that the 165th General Assembly will be remembered a long time for what it said about freedom and its preservation in American culture. Freedom was a recurring emphasis throughout the General Assembly.

First there was the splendid drama presented by the Board of Christian Education on Thursday night, *Tomorrow for the Taking*, in which freedom in terms of academic and campus life was spelled out. Who will ever forget the spontaneous reaction of the audience to the not-so-subtle reference to the "junior Senator from Wisconsin"?

Then came the election of Dr. John Mackay as Moderator of the General Assembly and his vigorous statement to the press immediately afterward. He assailed attempts "now being made to violate the shrine of personal opinion and to indict a man for his private judgment expressed or unexpressed in public."

At the Sunday afternoon Popular Meeting devoted to interracial good will, Dr. George Kelsey, of Drew University, made a historic statement of the religious basis for human rights. His address appears elsewhere in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

At the Elders' Breakfast on Monday morning, Dr. Charles J. Turck, president of Macalester College, made the theme of his address "Our Christian Obligation to the Sacred Cause of Liberty." His speech ought to be published and made required reading for every elder in the Church.

Freedom was also the theme of a radio drama and panel discussion presented on Tuesday afternoon over popular KUOM, the far-reaching radio station of the University of Minnesota. Taking part in the panel were Dr. Ganse Little, Dr. Paul Calvin Payne, and Rev. Robert Pierre Johnson.

The report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, presented to the General Assembly late Tuesday afternoon, included one of the most vigorous and courageous declarations on the defense of freedom to come from a Church body. The statement

was given an overwhelming vote of support by the commissioners. *The New York Times* reported that the section on freedom was "regarded by observers as one of the most forthright statements on civil liberties ever issued by a national Protestant Church body."

The General Assembly did not fail to warn of the dangers of Communism which, as Dr. Mackay said, is evil and abhorrent. In its concern with the preservation of freedom, however, the Church is warning the nation against the dangers inherent in the political methods and attitudes that are popularly called "McCarthyism."

Significant Pronouncements

SEVERAL social pronouncements of the 165th General Assembly, in addition to the freedom statements mentioned above, have deep and far-reaching significance:

1. In dealing with race relations, the General Assembly called upon every pastor and session "to observe in spirit and practice that the sole constitutional basis for church membership is faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour." The references in support of this interpretation of the law of our Church are the Form of Government, Ch. II, Sec. 2; Confession of Faith, Ch. XXVI, Sec. 2; Confession of Faith, Ch. XXVIII, Sec. 4; Larger Catechism, Ques. 62.

We venture the opinion that on the basis of what Presbyterian law says about the nature of the Church, a session would not have the power to refuse membership on the ground of race or color if that ground were explicitly provable in its action. It is clear that the session in a particular church has the power to accept or to refuse any application for membership, nor does the reason have to be given. But if a session should refuse membership because of race or color, that action could be complained successfully to a higher judicatory as being contrary to the definition of the Church found in our Constitution.

2. It is significant that in a time when attacks upon the UN are mounting, the General Assembly should affirm its faith in this great instrument of international co-operation and should call upon our Government to continue making the United Nations a major cornerstone of our foreign policy. Said the General Assembly: "We are tempted often to stress the halting progress of the United Nations. It is more realistic to marvel that the United Nations has progressed and achieved at all in this kind of world." The statement on

the United Nations noted that it has more than once stopped aggression, blazed new trails in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, promoted the well-being of subject and dependent peoples, engaged in many humanitarian endeavors, and promoted better standards of life around the globe. The General Assembly called attention "to the peril that lies in the direction of weakening or abandoning organized international co-operation and the promise for peace that lies in the direction of a stronger and more responsible United Nations."

3. In looking at the alcohol problem, the General Assembly encouraged churches to participate in the work of state and national temperance organizations "when the purposes and programs of these organizations are in harmony with the goals of our Church in relation to the alcohol problem." The General Assembly also advised the churches "to withhold endorsement of such temperance groups as do not support our concern for alcoholics, or in other ways exhibit an unrealistic or partial view of the alcohol problem." This statement should greatly strengthen the arms of those wise leaders in the temperance movement who are pressing for a comprehensive and factual approach to the problems posed by the use of alcoholic beverages. A great many of the progressive leaders in anti-alcohol activities will rejoice in the General Assembly's expression of "confidence in the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies as a dependable source of information about many of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages." The General Assembly commended the studies and publications of the Yale Center to our churches and ministers. It is high time that we lay the falsehood that the Yale studies are unreliable and the leaders of the Yale Center have sold out to the liquor crowd.

Memo for Ministers

WE CHERISH for you the high experience of attending an institute on racial and cultural relations. Three institutes will be held this summer: at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, July 20-24; at Eden Seminary in Missouri, August 3-7; and at Lewis and Clark College in Oregon, July 13-17. These meetings are sponsored by an interdenominational committee related to the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. For full information, write to the Department of Social Education and Action.

—Clifford Earle

Religious Bases of Human Rights

By GEORGE D. KELSEY, *Associate Professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey. Excerpts from an address delivered at the Popular Sunday Afternoon Meeting at General Assembly, May 31, 1953.*

THE stress on human rights has been a basic characteristic of modern times. This emphasis has been central to the liberal tradition and the democratic movement. Above all other movements, modern democracy must be credited with the greatest success in the universalization of human rights.

But, perhaps more than any previous era, the modern era has also been characterized by paradox and contradiction. On the one hand, there has been the development of humanitarianism, and democratic theory and practice; on the other, there has been the development of colonialism, slavery, racism, and at last totalitarianism. The incredible feature of it all is the fact that, in many cases, one and the same people were the chief agents in these movements, leading in two opposite spiritual and moral directions.

Such tendencies prompt one to inquire as to their source. Why has it occurred that modern Western man, setting out on a course leading to an increase in equality, freedom, and human dignity, elaborated theory and engaged in practice

diametrically opposed to this high aim in his life? The answer, at least in large measure, lies in the fact that there has been an increasing secularization of life in which the democratic movement has shared. In theory, liberal democracy has developed along humanistic lines with the stress on the intrinsic worth of man and the primacy of reason. In practice, human worth has been measured in terms of civilization and power. The result has been the justification of colonialism for many, and the emergence within the democracies themselves of various forms of particularism, such as racial, class, and creedal groupings affecting all.

According to the Christian faith, human rights are derived from God. In creation God conferred upon every man his primal dignity. The rights of creature-man inhere in his relation to the Creator-God and in the purposes of the Creator-God for him. Men cannot, therefore, invent their fundamental rights or destroy them.

It is often said that human rights are derived from the social organiza-

tion of life. From the standpoint of Christian faith, this is only partly true. It is true that rights are made explicit through particular institutions in particular societies. But we must not assume from these facts that the fundamental base of human rights is the institutions of society. While God created man a social being and thereby created community, the individual is prior to all the patterned forms of behavior of the community. We, as American Christians, therefore, may spell out the rights of man, taking our own social institutions as the means through which they may be made explicit.

First, man has a right to life or a full physical existence. Christian faith does not understand the right to life in terms of mere subsistence and freedom from brutality and violent death. When Jesus spoke of his work of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and giving sight to the blind, he was expressing God's purpose that man should have a full physical life.

The fact that man is created as a bodily being, in part, means that he must draw his sustenance from the earth. It is his duty to work. But it is also his right to work. For there are no duties without corresponding rights or rights without corresponding duties. Historic Christianity has laid little stress on this right because of the fact that it did not become an issue until modern times.

Since God has created man as

body, mind, and spirit, constituting a unity, these parts must never be separated. Slavery in any degree is iniquitous. It is contrary to the order of creation. For it confers on another the right to employ his neighbor's body and limbs without the co-operation of the neighbor's will. A man has a right to purposeful activity and to a share in the purpose of the activity in which he engages. This right rests on the fact that he is created a being with an inward and outward part in inseparable unity.

Closely related to this right is the right to one's own personal being and development. Every child has a right to education and the normal development of his own personal powers. God has created every man a unique being. Man has a right to his own uniqueness of being and unfoldment. The persistent tendency to divide men into groups and to determine their worth, potentialities, and opportunities on the basis of these groupings is perhaps history's most blatant denial of the divine creation of the individual.

Since personality exists only in social relations and can come to maturity only in free associations, the right to one's own personal being involves the right to free and unhampered human associations. Restrictions on human associations imposed by a political party, class, or race; because such restrictions are conceived as serving particular po-

litical and economic interests; are stultifying and disintegrating. Moreover, when such restrictions are directed at the fundamental being of persons isolated, they constitute an "abomination of desolation" in the family of God and a casting of aspersion on God's creative act.

God created man and found that he was "very good," but man rebelled against God and placed himself in bondage to sin. This is the Biblical way of saying that man is fundamentally a sinner and therefore in a state of sin so that sin is not wholly explicable in terms of conscious and deliberate choices. Similarly Biblical theology says that the impulse to self-exaltation is basic to human nature and is operative even in expressions of altruism. Since men are fundamentally sinners, which is to say self-centered, they often must be coerced to respect in others the same rights which they want and demand for themselves.

The human mind is made for truth. Just as health and strength are the end for the body, truth is the end for the mind. The individual therefore has a right to truth. Since truth does not exist, to all practical intents and purposes, unless it is expressed, the right to truth involves freedom of expression.

The final end for man and that end which gives meaning to all other ends is God. A man has a right to

faith and worship. When Jesus said, "He who finds his life will lose it," he meant that found life is lost in God. God created man in his own image, that is, with the capacity and necessity for fellowship with him.

What are our responsibilities in our American sociological setting in view of our claims as Christians?

First, we must remove every semblance of idolatry from our own ranks. In a Christian democratic civilization, there is only one reason why human rights can be an issue at all, namely, because Christians have abandoned their own essentially religious foundations in the assessment of rights. Christians in large numbers, alongside non-Christians, have bowed down and worshiped the idol gods of race, class, and creedal group. It is an awful commentary on American Christianity that at this very hour civil rights is one of our major domestic issues. As believers in and practitioners of democracy, we have abandoned our own creed of individualism and substituted for it various forms of groupism. As Christians, to all practical intents and purposes we have rejected the notion that God is the source of human rights and our relationship to him the fundamental framework within which rights are exercised, and substituted idolized groups as the fundamental point of reference.

The rights of citizens in a Christian democratic order are at once individual and universal. They are individual in that they are assigned to individuals; they are universal in that precisely the same rights are assigned to all members of the body politic. The religious basis of this individualism and universalism is the idea that the rights of creature-man inhere in his relation to the Creator-God and in the purposes of the Creator-God for him and his followers.

In all discussions of freedom and human rights, the importance of freedom of faith is recognized. But there is an aspect of this freedom which is usually left in an implicit state; it is rarely made explicit. It is the right to live out the faith. It is a right which is denied, not merely by Governments, but even by neighborhood groups. Throughout history man has displayed a tragic inability to distinguish between those who fall beneath the standards of society and those who rise above them.

The most difficult of all rights to win is the right to do right. If a genuinely Christian approach to human rights is implemented in our country, it will only be so because we, as Christians, insist that freedom of faith includes the right to live out the demands of the Gospels in all the affairs of daily life. If we really trust God, we are willing to embrace his will and leave the con-

sequences to him. This is not to say that intelligent calculation of the consequences of action, and the working out of the best means to an end in terms of empirical realities are unnecessary. But it is to say that technical judgments, if they be Christian, must always be made under the guidance and inspiration of Kingdom norms.

The fact that we have not had great success in the past in engendering such faith must be admitted. When one turns the pages of religious history, one finds that men have trusted God in matters of ceremony and the cult much more than in the field of history and moral action. They have found it much easier to associate miracle with rites and ceremonies than with the moral requirements of daily labor and citizenship. The Christian churches must engender a faith that involves trust in God as the Lord of history as well as the object of the cultus.

For the Christian faith, human rights inhere in man's relationship to God as creature and potential son. A man has a God-given right to all those things which make for the unfoldment of his personal and unique being under God. The judgment of God is upon all Christian people who do not make effective this essentially spiritual ideal of right and who fail to take the Kingdom of God as the norm of their daily lives.

Our Christian Responsibility

By CLIFFORD EARLE, Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. Excerpts from Chapter VI of Alcohol and Christian Responsibility, prepared for the use of the Women's Society for Christian Service of the Methodist Church. Used by permission.

CHURCHES have much to bring to a creative solution of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages. Certain resources of attitude and conviction make them peculiarly qualified to work in this field:

- an appreciation of the supreme worth of human life.
- a belief in the spiritual and moral possibilities of every individual.
- a vision of the good life to which every man is called.
- an awareness of man's duty to his fellow men.
- a keen sense of right and wrong.
- a deep sympathy with all who suffer.
- a mandate to proclaim God's judgment upon the ways of men.

Biblical Basis

Our approach to the alcohol problem, as to all ethical questions, is based on the teachings of the Bible. In the Bible there are more than seventy pointed references to the evils of drinking, with a total of more than 160 verses. The Bible has more to say directly about drunken-

ness than about stealing, adultery, pride, hypocrisy, or blasphemy. The following passages are typical:

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." (*Prov. 20:1.*)

"Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them!" (*Isa. 5:11.*)

"But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way; the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink, they are swallowed up of wine, they are out of the way through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment." (*Isa. 28:7.*)

"Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also." (*Hab. 2:15.*)

However, it is not so much what the Bible says directly about alcohol, but the implications of its broader counsel, that give us guidance. Some Biblical teachings that apply to the

problems of alcohol may be summarized as follows:

- Voluntary drunkenness is a sin.
- The appetites and lusts of the flesh are to be kept under complete mastery.
- The body is to be kept pure and undefiled as a fit temple of the spirit.
- The care of life is an important part of stewardship.
- Every man is responsible for his influence over others.
- Men are to help one another to live at their best.
- All men are accountable to God for their actions.

Voluntary Abstinence

Most Churches in the evangelical tradition uphold the standard of voluntary abstinence from all alcoholic beverages. This is not surprising in view of the trouble and sorrow that alcohol brings to so many people.

The case for voluntary abstinence may be based on four considerations:

1. Occasional and moderate drinking, however harmless it may seem to be, is sometimes an introduction to problem drinking.

2. Moderate drinking provides the setting in which problem drinking, with all its accompanying tragedy, occurs.

3. Moderate drinkers are the principal influence in recruiting new drinkers.

4. Even slight amounts of alcohol can affect a person's efficiency and behavior in such a way as to cause trouble.

These points add up to the conclusion that it is prudent not to drink. On the basis of the greatest good for the greatest number, abstinence is better than indulgence.

For those who live by the light of the Christian ideal, however, there is a morality that goes beyond prudence. We all are "bound in the bundle of life." We are expected to help others to be all that God wants them to be. We are to heed the admonition "that no man put a stumblingblock or an occasion to fall in his brother's way." Can anything less than voluntary abstinence be truly consonant with the spirit of Christianity?

A Program for the Churches

Let us attempt now to outline in broad strokes a program of action for our churches, a program that is compassionate and realistic and that takes a full measure of the problem. Only an approach that does not oversimplify the problem can succeed. The efforts of the churches in order to be balanced and complete must include three phases—help for the victims of alcohol, education about alcohol that upholds the standard of abstinence, and public action to restrain the trade:

1. Helping the victims of alcohol is appropriate to the nature and

calling of the churches. There would seem to be no question about this, yet some people in our churches and in the temperance movement are so extreme in their zeal to stamp out the liquor traffic that they view efforts to help alcoholics with deep suspicion.

2. Education about alcohol should be persistently encouraged in every local church. The program should reach adults no less than children and youth.

3. Public action to restrain the liquor traffic should be strongly encouraged and supported by the churches. [Chapter VI in *Alcohol and Christian Responsibility* outlines a constructive program for churches to follow in studying this problem.]

Let's Work Together

It is obvious that churches working independently and alone cannot make much progress in dealing with the many problems of alcohol. In this field as in others, churches have a special responsibility to encourage and assist all efforts that are in keeping with their own purpose. Specifically, churches will seek to co-operate with other groups, public and private, in attacking various aspects of the alcohol problem, so long as such co-operation doesn't involve any compromise of ultimate convictions and goals.

For example, an agency in the community may announce that its

purpose is to inform the public about alcoholism, and nothing else. Its leaders may hold convictions about the ultimate solution of the problem that are sharply different from those affirmed by the churches. But within the declared purpose of the agency's program, the churches can co-operate wholeheartedly.

In general there are five kinds of groups or agencies with which the churches may work in dealing with one aspect or another of the alcohol problem:

1. Public institutions, such as schools, health departments, and even liquor control boards, should be encouraged by the churches to include in their program accurate information about alcoholic beverages. These agencies cannot usually be expected to endorse all that the churches believe about the alcohol problem, but they can be expected to be fair and accurate in all that they teach on the subject. In many communities, churches have helped to instigate effective programs of alcohol education in the schools, usually in connection with required courses on health and hygiene.

2. Temperance groups deserve the encouragement and support of churches and ministers when their efforts are not so completely focused on immediate national prohibition as to impede action on educational and social control problems aimed at partial aspects of the alcohol problem. Sometimes a zealous

worker for temperance may be so negative in his attitude toward efforts to understand alcoholism and to help alcoholics that he makes co-operation extremely difficult. In co-operating with established temperance agencies, it is important not to surrender the prerogative for developing the church program of alcohol education and action.

3. Groups especially interested in the problem of alcoholism deserve the encouragement and support of the churches, so long as they take no stand that would compromise the churches' concern for other aspects of the alcohol problem. The outstanding organization working in this field is Alcoholics Anonymous. It is inspiring to note that many churches are providing meeting rooms, kitchen facilities, and other privileges for the weekly gatherings of local groups of Alcoholics Anonymous.

4. Research programs such as the large-scale studies of the alcohol problem by the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies should be encouraged and supported by the churches so long as their purposes and methods are truly scientific, and so long as the conclusions reached are consistent with the actual findings of the studies.

5. Hospitals, courts, police departments, social service agencies, and other public and private groups deal constantly with one or another phase of the alcohol problem. The

churches can co-operate with their efforts to develop intelligent programs and services, so long as co-operation does not involve a negation of the basic beliefs or convictions of the churches. In a few communities local tavern associations have sought to join the churches in supporting or sponsoring a worthwhile community project. Co-operation of this sort would be impossible under nearly all conditions without compromising the ultimate witness of the churches. In many communities churches have encouraged police departments and hospitals in developing programs and providing facilities for the care of alcoholics.

Responsible Action

Here then is a program to challenge and guide our best efforts—compassionate help for the victims of alcohol, uncompromising alcohol education in every church upholding the standards of abstinence, courageous public action to mitigate the evils associated with drinking and to “contain” the liquor trade.

The use of alcoholic beverages constitutes one of America's most serious and pervasive problems. It is an issue that cannot be ignored. Too long have too many churches temporized and dodged their responsibilities. We must now accept our Christian responsibility, taking the steps that will lead us to the high goals of sobriety and righteousness.

Sanctuary

AMOS—FREEDOM'S APOSTLE

The third and fourth in a series condensed from worship services prepared by NORMAN F. LANGFORD for the Christian Education National Conference, Buck Hill Falls, March 7-12. Dr. Langford is Editor in Chief, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

III. Amos 5: 13-16

"Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time; for it is an evil time. Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph."

ONE commentator, at least, rather attractively suggests that this means, not that the prudent will deem it wise to keep silent, but rather that anyone who perceives how serious the situation is would prefer not to talk about it. The outlook is gloomy indeed, as Amos sees it. The unrighteousness of the nation is about to provoke utter calamity at the hand of God, in the form of the physical destruction of the nation. Either interpretation of this verse makes sense, and is remarkably applicable to our own day. The silence of fear has indeed fallen upon many of us, and if we perceive evils among us, it seems the part of prudence to keep still. But I think the other interpretation is more poignant, and richer with meaning. It is with the utmost reluctance that anyone announces impending disaster; and particularly in the Church it would apparently behoove us to hold out hope to a troubled world, and restrain our lips from proclaiming doom.

The prophet himself hesitates at the point in his message of woe, and makes another call to repentance before he proceeds to unfold further the dismal shape of things to come. "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto *the remnant of Joseph*." But it is only for a moment that he speaks thus: and

at once he resumes his main theme: "Therefore the Lord, the God of hosts, the Lord, saith thus; Wailing shall be in all streets; and they shall say in all the highways, Alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing."

Is there, perhaps, something halfhearted about this momentary offer of a second chance? Certainly the prophet does not enlarge upon the thought. He calls to repentance—very briefly—and as briefly suggests that in repentance lies hope of deliverance from the coming catastrophe. But the main thing he has to say appears, after all, to be that disaster is at hand, and one wonders this: Could there be, at this late date in Israel's affairs, any real possibility of avoiding destruction? Remember that what Amos foresaw was a military and political disaster not very far off in the future. The forces that were destined to overcome Israel would hardly be stayed, much less removed, by a moral revival within this little nation.

Whatever may be the case with Amos, there is, I think, a kind of halfheartedness in our own efforts to summon men and nations to change their ways—a halfheartedness, at least, in our hope that this is likely to happen, and with any visible results. Looking at the world we live in today, we are overwhelmingly conscious of the perils that await us—conscious almost to the

point of doubting that anything can really be done about the situation. As nations become armed camps, even more hostile, with continually diminishing chances of reaching a common understanding for peace at this late date, who is really optimistic? Who does not believe that the best we can expect is that the war will remain cold and not get hot? Or how can we be sanguine of the chances of changing very quickly the climate of public opinion in this country, so that the suspicions and fears and tensions that put us so ill at ease today will subside? And in the face of such grim realities, do not our appeals to mankind to seek some better way sound rather futile—a gesture we have to make as representatives of the gospel, but a gesture that is belied by the pessimism that is our authentic mood in these troubled times?

The clue to Amos' thought is in the word "remnant." One cannot quite be sure what Amos meant by the "remnant of Joseph." But the word takes us beyond thinking of a highly idealistic and depressingly improbable reform movement, which would somehow pull Israel back out of danger. The fruits of righteousness are not likely to be so spectacular as that. Amos' instinct that tells him ruin is at hand can very well be true, as events proved it to be, and yet this promise of grace toward the repentant is valid nevertheless. Among the vast, over-

whelming forces in which the righteous man is caught—in the turbulent, overpowering, irresistible sea of public affairs, too great for anyone to cope with—the righteous will nonetheless not be forgotten. “Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.” And the meek Man who said that in his time, and in his time was quickly done to death, lives forever, and the kingdoms of the world now are his.

THE Church has more to offer than a last appeal to mankind to turn back or be destroyed. The validity of what the Church can promise does not stand or fall with whether men obey its advice. It may very well be the case that disaster upon disaster lies ahead, and that mankind will in our time accomplish its own undoing. We cannot guarantee that any crusade of ours will prevent man from inflicting calamity upon himself, though we shall continue, while there is any time at all, to urge a better course. But let the worst come, and it still stands that the Lord is gracious to them that hate the evil and love the good. The upright, the people of integrity, the courageous, the merciful, the just have their reward. The storms that may presently break upon us all cannot take away from us the peace that passes understanding. To seek good and not evil is never in vain, even if the majority pursues the opposite course and engulfs every-

one in ruin. “The Lord knoweth them that are his”; and the words we speak for very honor’s sake are written in his book.

IV. Amos 5: 18-20

THE idea which Amos was expressing here for his own day is quickly explained. The carry-over of this idea to our day is as repugnant to us as it was to the people of his time.

Let us see what he is saying, and why he said it. There existed among the people of Israel a great delusion—a religious delusion which was due to be shattered rudely. It was thought that a day was coming, the day of the Lord, in which God would cast down the enemies of Israel and bring happiness and prosperity to the nation. It was thought by the pious that God would take a hand in human affairs; and joyful would be that day for his people. But, Amos says, you do not know what you are asking. The day of the Lord is quite the opposite from what you imagine. When the day of the Lord comes, then you will be vastly worse off than you are now. You think that things are bad, but in reaching out for the day of the Lord it is as though you fled from a lion and met a bear. For God comes in a great crisis, in judgment, in a moment of agony. God will indeed visit you, he will intervene in your affairs, but with chastisements and great afflictions.

Now I think we need not pause here over the parallels to this delusion that may be found among those who today simply wait for God to come and settle human problems in one mighty, apocalyptic act of power. There is indeed that kind of daydreaming which sits idly by while it waits for God to come and save us. But there is also a more subtle, more widespread, and far more important form of this delusion. It is the belief that all will be well, or at least a great deal better than now, when men return to prayer, steady churchgoing, and solid morality. A call to prayer, churchgoing, morality, and Scripture is quite in order and definitely our business. The danger is in the supposition that God will come in on the wings of our piety, bearing peace and plenty and security as gifts to his worshipers. The day of the Lord is almost identified with a return to religion. The solution of our problems, both personal and national, is supposed to lie in the embracing of sound beliefs and godly living.

In this world's life, however, it is evident that when God presses in upon the world he requires hard decisions and resolute conduct and free and fearless words: confronted by him there is no evading conflict and toil and tears and sacrifice. The integrity which we so much desire for mankind is the integrity that does not slip in unconsciously

through a renewed piety, but is attained only by taking risks and making choices and facing the facts of life. The encounter with God does not make things smoother on the surface. To flee to God for a retreat from the evils of the world is to run into him who demands: "Choose! Decide! Act! Speak!" It is to flee from the lion and meet the bear. The closer we are to God the closer we are to crisis. And beyond all that we can anticipate, who knows what events outside man's controlling God's judgment has prepared?

The day of the Lord is not the Sabbath calm we long for—not yet. The day of the Lord—his coming close to us—is darkness. But then our comfort in this is great indeed. For it is open to us to explore the darkness for the jewel that shines there. If the day of the Lord is darkness, it is also true that in the darkness is where God is to be found. In the dark is where lies buried the seed of eternal life, the secret of what makes it worth-while both to live and to die. "Now is my soul troubled"—it is Jesus' voice that speaks so—"now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour. . . . He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." And again he speaks: "He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved."

Excerpts from the Report of the

Standing Committee on Social Education and Action

Communism and National Defense

Let us make our Christian ideals really work in our part of the world. A vital application of Christian teachings in words and deeds would be the most telling demonstration of Christian truth and the best answer to the Communist claims.

Therefore—

1. We believe that the most compelling argument against Communism is a living demonstration of the teaching of Christ about man and his place in the world.

2. We hold that although we are continuing a strong defense program, we must go far beyond the military approach in terminating the "cold war." We call upon our Government to explore every possible approach toward resolving East-West tensions that is reasonable and right and in keeping with our Christian ideals and democratic traditions.

3. We endorse the President's five-point program for peace as stated in his speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington on April 16, 1953. We

support his plan to use a portion of military savings in a vast program of development around the world in underdeveloped regions.

Freedom

To the maintenance of freedom the Church must ever be alert. We believe that free ministers, in free pulpits, preaching to free people the liberating truth of Christ, are the chief bulwark of freedom, and the best guarantee of its preservation.

We assert our concern as follows:

1. Liberty is the most precious of human rights bestowed by God upon his children. We affirm our belief in freedom as set forth in the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

2. We oppose the suppression of freedom by totalitarian rule and armed force. We call on our Federal Government to maintain freedom and to strive to extend its provisions to other lands.

3. We clearly affirm the right of Congress to make investigations as may be necessary to secure information upon which sound legislation may be based. But we call upon Congress to establish uniform rules

s — 1953 Version

*As adopted by the 165th General
Assembly, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 2, 1953*

of procedure for all investigations in which the rights of witnesses shall be specified and protected. These rights we believe have been jeopardized by the failure of Congress to maintain the historic distinction between the legislative and judicial functions of government. In assuming judicial powers traditionally residing within the courts, a pattern of Congressional inquiry contrary to our American heritage seems to be emerging in which investigation becomes inquisition. We deplore the possibility that guilt by suspicion and investigation, rather than by trial, may become the future standard of justice within our land.

4. We affirm the principle of freedom in academic affairs, namely, the freedom of educators to learn and teach in the special areas of their competence without fear of irresponsible attacks.

5. We commend Presbyterians and churches that take action against infringements of personal liberty such as black-listings and unsupported charges of disloyalty. We call upon employers to exhibit courage in renouncing the use of black lists to determine a person's loyalty and therefore his employability. Per-

sonal attacks, without basis in fact, written or spoken, are an offense against human dignity and individual freedom.

Human Rights and Racial Relations

It is imperative that we who are committed to the Christian ethic and spirit not only continue but sharpen our efforts toward the practice of genuine brotherhood. To this end we submit the following recommendations:

1. Every pastor and session is urged to observe in spirit and practice that the sole constitutional basis for church membership is faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

2. We call upon the Church to take grave cognizance of the fact that we still have segregated synods and presbyteries, and to take steps without delay to correct this condition.

3. We urge Presbyterian leaders and groups on official Church missions to watch for possible violations of Christian brotherhood in connection with their assignments, and to refrain, insofar as possible, from participating in segregated meetings.

4. We recommend that pastors and sessions be urged to continue working for "a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society" and instruct the Department of Social Education and Action to give further leadership in these efforts.

5. We call upon Congress to enact legislation that will grant to as many of our Indian American neighbors as possible the full rights and immunities of citizenship. We call for an orderly program of legislation that will eventually terminate Federal restrictions and controls over tribes that are qualified to handle their own affairs.

The United Nations and Its Agencies

We rejoice in the many accomplishments of the United Nations and note that it has more than once stopped aggression, blazed new trails in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, promoted the well-being of subject and dependent peoples, engaged in many humanitarian endeavors, and promoted better standards of life around the globe.

1. We commend the President of the United States, the Congress, the Department of State and other agencies of our Government in their support of the United Nations. We call upon the Administration to continue making the United Nations a major cornerstone of American foreign policy. We urge that the

United Nations be used as a major channel and reliance for the realization of our security objectives.

2. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. wishes to encourage the United Nations groups working in the fields of universal disarmament and the control of atomic energy. We have noted with genuine pleasure the leadership taken by our country's representatives in these groups.

3. We wish to warn our ministers and churches against the attacks being made upon the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations is not above criticism, but we regret the violent and misleading assaults upon the international organization. We ask the churches to make available to their members reliable studies and interpretations of the United Nations and its work.

4. We call upon our Government to make available its fair share of support of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

5. We encourage the continuation and extension of the program of technical assistance by our Government to underdeveloped regions.

Immigration

We are encouraged by recent Federal legislation that abolishes in principle discrimination among aliens on the basis of (a) race, (b) conscientious objection to armed

(Continued on page 25)

Christian ACTION

UNITED NATIONS NEWS

A number of people have written me asking about the seventy-one countries to which reference was made in the April issue on technical assistance. They liked the suggestion and wanted the names of countries. Seventy-one is a long list, and the Presbyterian Church does not have missionaries in all. Choose from the following and send to United Nations for *The Story of Technical Assistance*, 25 cents, for further information—Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Malaya, Pakistan, Thailand, Turkey, Ethiopia.

Following the adjournment (or recess) of the General Assembly, April 23, some people felt that there was nothing doing at headquarters. However, several important commissions continued to meet—for instance, the Social Commission, the Narcotic Drug Commission, and the Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). The Social Commission dealt with problems and programs for family and child welfare, housing, protection and settlement

of migrants, prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, delinquency, training of social welfare workers both professional and volunteer. In this Commission were four interesting women from behind the Iron Curtain: Mme. Fedonia Norikova, doctor of historical science, member of the Supreme Soviet of Byelorussia; Dr. Elina N. Khokhol, of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Republic, head of the Pediatric Department of the Kiev Medical Institute; Mme. S. M. Speranskaya of the U.S.S.R., physician, author, leader in Soviet Red Cross; Mme. Irene Domanska of Poland, Deputy of Food Control, director of a medical laboratory in France before World War II. Their background made them deeply interested in social problems.

Aware of the tremendous work needed in rehabilitation of the disabled, the Commission has promoted and helped to carry on training courses for workers. These were held in 1952 in Sweden, Finland, and Denmark. The lectures and discussions and lists of resources have been widely distributed.

The Report of the World Social

Situation deals with health, food and nutrition, housing, education and communication, work and employment, living standards, levels of income, and welfare. It also includes chapters on conditions in regional areas—Latin America, Middle East, South and Southeast Asia. This is valuable for organizations doing work along social welfare lines.

Most interesting reports from various countries were made to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Increase in the production of hashish in Lebanon had forced the Government to destroy hemp crops on three million square meters of land. Turkey has by law limited the area in which the opium poppy can be grown. The same is true in connection with Indian hemp. Cold facts that led to action by the Turkish Government were: prison sentences rose from 13 in 1949 to 215 in 1952; fines from 12,420 Turkish pounds in 1949 to 225,465 pounds in 1952. Mexico reported great difficulty in discovering the poppy growing areas. They used small aircraft to locate such plantations and to drop leaflets describing the penalties and to urge offenders to change to production of needed food. As a result, 615 such plantations had been closed and 125 persons arrested. The Commission is working on draft resolutions to control manufacture and trade and to set up an International Drug Board.

UN Fund to Aid Economic Development—This is proposed as an international organization apart from but working closely with the UN and in accordance with Charter principles. Finances will come mainly from voluntary contributions from Government and non-governmental agencies, and from private sources. Many underdeveloped countries find it hard to pay for necessary roads, schools, health schemes. Technical assistance funds are not equal to the needs, so experts feel that such a semi-independent fund will do much to encourage the development of methods of self-help and greatly strengthen the Government. Policies for the fund are being developed. (See *UN Bulletin*, May 1, 1953.)

Cost of the UN—Much has been said about the cost of the UN to the United States. It might be well to let the critics (and the friends) know that the UN is a paying guest. The U.S. gets back from the budget of the UN \$30,000,000, or about twice what it puts in. The printing bill is over \$1,000,000; maintenance, \$4,000,000; travel for delegates and staff, over \$2,000,000, with U.S. transportation companies getting one half. Eight hundred delegates and aids live in the U.S. permanently; 500 more come for a few months of each year. There is no way to determine accurately what they spend, but \$7,000,000 is considered

a conservative figure. Real estate in the UN area has increased the value of property enough to make up for loss of taxes and to pay back the

\$27,000,000 the city spent for improving the approaches to the headquarters.

—Mabel Head, UN observer

ADVANCE PLANNING

Peoples Section

In these days when the UN is being attacked by so many different groups, it becomes more important than ever for church groups to be informed about the work and effectiveness of the UN. The March issue of the *Peoples Section Bulletin* of the American Association for the United Nations dealt with the question "How Effective Do You Think the United Nations Is?" The response from individuals, many of whom were connected with the Peoples Section, was unusually large. So that SEA leaders may know how many people are thinking about the UN, we are printing below the results of the Association's survey.

How Effective Do You Think the United Nations Is?

1. Do you agree with those who hold that the United Nations should be abandoned?

Novirtually 100%
(with only two dissenting votes)

2. Is peace any closer today than it was when the United Nations first started functioning?

Yes 69.5%
No 16.04%
Undecided 14.46%

3. What is the greatest step the

United Nations has taken to strengthen peace?

Korea	49.88%
Technical assistance	23.1 %
Serving as a forum	16.6 %
Negotiations	6.2 %
More power to the General Assembly	3.45%
Others including human rights77%

4. What is the greatest danger to peace today?

Fear	30.6 %
Russia	24.29%
Isolation in the U.S.	13.00%
Poverty	8.00%
Lack of understanding	7.5 %
Armaments race	6.61%
Loss of faith	4.5 %
Others	5.50%

5. What is the most important step the United Nations should take to avoid a world war?

Strengthen collective security..	37.00%
Negotiations	20.00%
Technical assistance	15.00%
Co-operation	12.8 %
Revise charter	4.4 %
Educational program	4.00%
Disarmament	3.00%
Others	3.8 %

1953 UN Day

It is not too early to start your planning for a really significant observation of UN Day, October 24, 1953. The United States Committee for United Nations Day, 816 21st Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.,

is preparing an attractive kit of materials for use in developing your program. The kit will be available early in August.

Presbytery and presbyterial committees on SEA should co-operate with local UN Day committees in community-wide planning and promotion of the observance. It is important for every local church to be involved, especially in view of the World Order Study Conference that will be held in Cleveland, October 27-30. This is the fourth national study conference sponsored by the National Council of Churches through the Department of International Justice and Goodwill. The conference will be made up of designated representatives from the various communions of the National Council, including a representative group of thirty Presbyterians chosen from the ministry and laity of our Church.

New African Survey

The Twentieth Century Fund has recently announced that it is undertaking a major factual and interpretative study of the peoples, countries, and resources of tropical Africa and the economic, social, and political problems involved in their development, according to an announcement made by Evans Clark, Executive Director of the Fund.

The study will be under the direction of George H. T. Kimble, former director of the American Geographi-

cal Society. The research team will concentrate on the part of Africa that lies south of the Sahara and north of the Union of South Africa, and will give special attention to the territories that are not self-governing. The plans call for a wide range of topics, including economic summaries of each of the non-self-governing territories, an atlas of African resources, and a comprehensive main report for the general reader, covering the entire survey, which will be published by the Fund. It is estimated that the African survey will take three years to complete.

Other Chairmen Take Note!

Rushville Presbytery, in Illinois, has found an interesting way to distribute social education and action news notes to the churches in its area. They have published a paper, with the appropriate name *Rush*, that goes out whenever it is important for the chairman, Rev. Arthur R. Hall, to reach the various local committees. It keeps the local chairmen up to date on political action and on any other items of information pertinent to the area.

Mr. Hall believes that an active SEA committee is an informed committee, so he has arranged for the chairman of each local church in his presbytery to receive a subscription to *SOCIAL PROGRESS* and a copy of the new manual *Social Action in the Local Church*, as soon as it comes from the press.

★ *Citizenship* ★

☒ With Congress still aiming at an August 1 adjournment, Congressional leaders are predicting the enactment of a "good percentage" of President Eisenhower's legislative program by that time. However, the announcement that Senator Taft, due to a serious hip ailment, has relinquished his duties as majority leader of the Senate for the remainder of the session may have serious consequences in the enactment of this program. Because of the slim majority held by the Party, the Senator's Congressional know-how and experience may be sorely missed.

Reciprocal Trade—As we go to press, a compromise trade agreements bill, acceptable to the President, has been reported out in the House, and floor action is expected momentarily. The Senate has announced it will give priority to the legislation following House passage.

In addition to extending the trade program for one year the bill (1) creates a special seventeen-member commission to study tariff and trade problems for one year; (2) adds a seventh member to the Tariff Commission, which may change the bipartisan nature of the Commission, allowing the Republicans a 4 to 3 majority, and (3) shortens from 12 to 9 months the period allowed for the Commission to act on an industry's request for higher tariffs.

A number of additional trade restrictions contained in the original bill have been put into another measure which will come up for consideration later.

Foreign Aid—At press time, committees of both Houses had just approved foreign aid bills. The Truman Administration had requested \$7.6 billion for this program, while the Eisenhower budget provided \$5.4 billion. As approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the figure stands at \$5.3 billion. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has approved a measure authorizing \$4.9 billion. The House Committee voted to withhold half of the amount provided for European aid until the allies have ratified the European defense plan.

Both of these bills are merely authorization measures. The actual money must be provided later in separate legislation, at which time economy advocates may attempt further reductions.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—In reporting out the Foreign Aid Bill the the Senate Foreign Relations Committee provided \$13 million for this Fund. (SOCIAL PROGRESS, May, 1953.) This represents a \$4 million increase over the \$9 million previously authorized. This increase is predicated upon an agreement be-

tween the Committee and the Administration that none of the increase will become available to this UN program unless it is matched by other member nations collectively. The House bill includes a provision for this fund of \$9 million.

Bricker Resolution—As we go to press, one more effort is being made to get this controversial measure (SOCIAL PROGRESS, April, 1953) out of committee. Early in June the Senate Judiciary Committee voted 8 to 4 to report the bill despite Administration opposition. It agreed, however, to withhold for ten days a formal filing of its report to permit the preparation of a minority report. At press time it was understood that the Administration was working on a redraft that would endeavor to satisfy both the proponents of the legislation and those who oppose it. Unless some satisfactory agreement is reached it seems highly unlikely that the measure will be called up for action at this session of Congress.

Congressional Investigations—In June, following a lively hearing on two separate bills looking toward established codes of procedures for Congressional investigations (SOCIAL PROGRESS, April, 1953), the House Rules Committee appointed a three-man subcommittee to thoroughly study the matter. Points of procedure to be considered include a clear definition of the scope of each particular inquiry, the right of witnesses to legal counsel and to limited cross-

examination of persons the witness believes have damaged his reputation, protection for nonwitnesses who are adversely identified in public hearings, restraints on the use of executive sessions and on the issuance of public statements by committee members.

Migrant Labor—As we go to press, prospects are not bright for any special legislation in this field. However, there is a slight hope that Administration leaders may be persuaded to introduce and back a bill providing for the establishment of a Federal Committee on Migrant Labor. The rural library bill (SOCIAL PROGRESS, May, 1953) is another measure that would be beneficial to migrants in its educational aspects, and on which there is thought to be a slight chance of action this session.

Federal Aid to Education—Early in June the Administration urged the extension of present laws for Federal financial aid to schools in "critical" defense areas. Testifying before the House Committee on Education and Labor, Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby, of the newly created Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, said that there will be almost 600,000 more "Federally connected" children in school next fall than there were two years ago. The laws recommended for extension provide Federal aid for new school construction and for school maintenance and operation.

—Helen Lineweaver

SOCIAL PRONOUNCEMENTS—1953 VERSION

Continued from page 18

service on religious grounds, and (c) illiteracy in old age. However, we realize that there are these elements in our immigration statutes which demand urgent consideration.

1. The national origin quota system, which was first applied in 1924, is no longer relevant.

2. The stringent laws governing deportation require reconsideration.

3. In several other ways our existing laws are unfairly and inexcusably restrictive.

4. We urge that the continuing Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization Policy commence public hearings immediately, looking toward the framing and swift enactment of legislation that is wholesomely American. Also, we urge the passage of emergency legislation that will make possible the entrance for permanent residence in the United States of some 240,000 European refugees in the next two years as recommended by the President.

Economic Life

1. We urge every church to seek an effective ministry to bring together in Christian fellowship men and women from all occupations and walks of life, since we recognize that our churches all too often fail to minister across economic lines to all groups in their communities.

2. We particularly urge churches and presbyteries in areas where migrant workers are employed to reach out to them in Christian concern.

3. The percentage of our population in the older age groups has increased substantially, and is continuing to increase, creating a serious social and economic problem. We urge churches and presbyteries to help to increase public awareness of the social and economic needs of our aging population and the economic problems resulting from increasing longevity.

4. Although there has been a continuing expansion of housing facilities to meet the needs of an increasing population, thousands of families are still living in substandard homes. We urge churches and presbyteries to take an active part in local projects designed to improve housing conditions in their communities, including active opposition to any restrictions which lead to racial segregation.

The Relation of the Church to the Public School

1. We urge the defense of our public schools against malicious attack by zealous individuals and groups seeking to undermine or destroy public education.

2. We recommend the continued study of ways by which religious

truths, a greater emphasis on ethical and moral instruction, and a knowledge of the Bible may be provided for our public-school students.

3. Because of the continuing difficulties facing schools in many parts of the country, in the matter of adequate support, we reaffirm our approval of Federal aid to strengthen public education, such aid to be given to the states according to their needs and to be administered by the states without discrimination on account of race, and without subsidizing private and parochial schools.

The Use of Alcoholic Beverages

The General Assembly again reminds the churches and their members of our repeated stand against the use of alcoholic beverages, our continued opposition to the liquor traffic, and our deepening concern with the problem of alcoholism, reaffirming the deliverance of the 158th General Assembly in 1946.

We make the following recommendations:

1. We reaffirm the principle of voluntary abstinence from the use of alcoholic beverages. We call upon our churches to undertake programs of alcohol education in which this principle is clearly and convincingly set forth.

2. We call upon our ministers and churches to be concerned intelligently and sympathetically with the problem of alcoholism, and to sup-

port efforts for the aiding and rehabilitating of alcohol's victims and their families. We encourage cooperation with Alcoholics Anonymous.

3. We call for more effective and stringent control measures over the alcoholic beverage trade. We call for further regulation and restriction of alcoholic beverage advertising.

4. We encourage our churches to participate in the work of state and national temperance organizations when the purposes and programs of these organizations are in harmony with the goals of our Church in relation to the alcohol problem. We would ask our churches to withhold endorsement of such temperance groups as do not support our concern for alcoholics, or in other ways exhibit an unrealistic or partial view of the alcohol problem. We express our confidence in the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies as a dependable source of information about many of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages, and commend its studies and publications to our churches and ministers.

—THEODORE C. SPEERS, *Chairman*



The full text of the Report of the Standing Committee will be published in pamphlet form and will be available through the Presbyterian Distribution Service by the end of the summer.

About Books

America in Crisis, edited by Daniel Aaron. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.00.

The title can easily mislead: not today's crisis, but America's response to a number of social dislocations and intellectual challenges from the Great Awakening of Jonathan Edwards in 1740 to the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939.

First given as public lectures at Bennington College in 1950-1951, the crises are presented in fourteen essays under the general theme "America's Response to Crisis."

In addition to the first and last essays referred to above, the others are: "Insurrection in Massachusetts"; "The Yellow Fever Epidemics, 1793-1905"; "South Carolina vs. the United States"; "Horace Mann's Crusade"; "John Brown's Private War"; "Upheaval at Homestead"; "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines"; "Rebellion in Art"; "Woodrow Wilson's Tour"; "When the Banks Closed"; "The Black Blizzards"; "Black Legions on the March."

The book has value as a study of national behavior under stress. It uncovers a strange peculiarity of the American people: "Although we have risen magnificently to the

crises often brought about or aggravated by negligence and shortsightedness, we have done little to prevent their recurrence. The characteristic American response has been to deal with the emergency or 'fix' the machinery and then pay no further attention until another breakdown disturbs the domestic tranquillity."

One of the most helpful sections in the book is the descriptive bibliography on the final pages, in which the source material of each essay is given effective treatment.

—Jay Kaufman

A Declaration of Faith, by Herbert Agar. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.00.

We shall never forget Dr. Agar's *Pursuit of Happiness* (1952) and *A Time for Greatness* (1942). Here is another book to enrich and bless the careful reader.

As writer and lecturer, as one-time editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and public affairs counselor at the American Embassy in London, Dr. Agar has become known throughout the world for his searching analyses of American political life.

He writes like a prophet. "We need something that will lift our souls to grandeur if we are to pre-

serve our globe for freedom," he says in this deeply moving yet reasonable volume. He pleads for a return to the traditional Christian-Judaic-Hellenic values.

He argues that we need a statement of faith "that unites the centuries as well as the continents." Such a statement, he declares, will affirm these points: (1) freedom of conscience; (2) a natural law which guards this freedom; (3) a natural piety which teaches that there are many blasphemies we must not inflict upon our world (such as the ruin of irreparable soil for quick profits); and (4) an absolute sanction for these "musts."

In his argument he moves with fluent ease across history, dipping here and there for vivid illustrations. Here truly is a book for every person who likes more than light reading on current affairs.

—C. E.

Sunday School Fights Prejudice, by Mildred Moody Eakin and Frank Eakin. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

The authors of *Sunday School Fights Prejudice* have made an intensive examination of the books, pamphlets, songs, and pictures currently used in Sunday church schools throughout the country in an attempt to get an accurate and objective answer to the question, "Does the average American Sunday school actively combat racial or religious

prejudice?" The book consists largely in demonstrating the evidences both positive and negative.

The book assumes that the fight against prejudice is basic to Bible study and to the Christian understanding of God as Father. A distinction is made between conversionist emphases and the more appreciative and understanding types of literature.

The most significant contribution the book can make lies in its suggestions as to how Sunday schools can improve their presentation of lessons so as to combat prejudice more aggressively. The literature of most denominations seems to be veering more and more toward understanding and appreciating minority peoples, but there is much room for improvement. Further, where the material makes good suggestions, church schools are not exploiting them as well as they might. Such are the conclusions the book draws.

Ministers, directors of religious education, general or department superintendents, and Sunday school teachers will find the book provocative and helpful.

—Paul C. McFarlin

Alcohol, Culture, and Society, by Clarence H. Patrick. Duke University Press. \$3.00.

The alcohol problem persists partly because the use of alcohol is rooted deeply in the culture and social customs of so many people. In-

asmuch as cultural changes are constantly taking place within a nation, the present drinking habits of people of the United States are partly the result of cultural changes of more recent decades. This fact, which is documented by the author, leads him to produce a book that in no wise condones drinking but does explain the widespread prevalence of the use of alcohol at the present time. The author, by making a cultural approach to the understanding of the alcohol problem, also makes a cultural approach to the solution of the problem.

Now that so many books are helping us to understand why people drink and what they drink, it is encouraging to find an author who not only makes such analysis but provides some hope for social control of the liquor traffic that will remove some of its worst features. Without having to agree fully with the principles listed by the author "toward social control," one is impressed with the careful thinking that has been done. The author appeals to the individual drinker to recognize that he has more than an individual responsibility for what he is doing. Being part of a group, he must accept responsibility for his group relationships. If this were done, thousands of drinkers would cease to be a problem to society almost overnight.

—Earl F. Zeigler

Rendezvous with Destiny, by Ernest F. Goldman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.00.

Here is an objective analysis of liberalism in the United States so well written that the book is laid aside with regret and the reader is convinced that what this nation does now determines the future. "Mankind is hurtling through a process that recurs not in centuries but in millenniums."

Various philosophies which have had much to do with shaping American social attitudes, domestic economy, and foreign policy are treated in the brilliant review of events in the United States since the Civil War. Included are conservative and reform Darwinism, self-determination, the doctrine of expediency, the current group-centerism, and, of course, many others. Two wars and the subsequent peace, the League of Nations and the United Nations, TVA and possible world TVA's are well treated. No mention is made of the impact of Christianity. Has it been so negligible?

Plainly the author is concerned about the part of liberalism as an important influence in this the most powerful country in the world. We have an unprecedented responsibility as a nation which we "the people" should share in this time when each day is a "rendezvous with destiny."

—Florence Kindle

Index

Vol. XLIII, September, 1952, to June, 1953

	PAGE		PAGE
Church and Economic Life		<i>Legislation Analyzed</i>	
Buffalo in Retrospect, Fichter. Sept.	13	Growing Problems for	
Christian and His Daily Work,		MigrantsNov.	28
TheMar.	16	Migrant LaborJune	24
Christian—Monday Through		Social SecurityMay	29
Saturday, The, Hall.....Mar.	4	Taft-Hartley Amendments ...Mar.	30
Church and Economic Life		Tidelands OilApr.	28
(Ed.)Jan.	1		
Church as Employer, The		<i>Book Reviews</i>	
(Ed.)Sept.	1	British Planning and	
Emphasis on Daily Work		NationalizationNov.	31
(Ed.)Mar.	1	Churches and Agricultural	
Give Rural Children an		Policy, TheNov.	32
Education, Blodgett.....Nov.	24	Credit for the Millions, Giles. Sept.	30
Home Is Where the Crops Are		Crusade, BergengrenSept.	32
Ripe, CollinsNov.	16	Human Crisis in the Kingdom	
Homeless and Helpless,		of Coal, SmithMay	30
The (Ed.)Nov.	1	Poor Man's Prayer, Boyle...Sept.	31
In Government Service,			
VoorhisMar.	8	Family and Community Life	
Labor Sunday MessageSept.	16	Amalgamated Separation, An,	
Ministry to Migrants, The,		McGuireJan.	16
OwenNov.	5	Changing Needs of Our	
Older Persons in the Labor		SchoolsJan.	9
Force, BancroftSept.	19	Concerning Our Public Schools	
Scotland's Church and Industry		(Ed.)Jan.	1
ConferenceSept.	25	Drinking Among Students....Apr.	16
Statesmen in Overalls,		Elders and the School Bonds,	
PotofskySept.	7	The, McGuireJan.	23
We Must Bridge the Gaps,		Experiments in Citizenship	
MathewsSept.	24	TrainingJan.	28
What of the Harvesters?		Gary's Crime Subsidies,	
(Ed.)Nov.	3	BackemeyerSept.	26
Where Christianity and		Our Christian Responsibility,	
Economics Meet, Ward ...Nov.	18	EarleJune	8
Where Labor Meets		We Struggle and Hope,	
Management, ShusterSept.	26	FrasherJan.	12
Where the Church Meets the			
World, LamarMar.	21		

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Legislation Analyzed</i>		Defense of Freedom	Dec. 31
Federal Aid	Apr. 29	General	
	June 24	Amos—Freedom's Apostle,	
Housing	May 28	Langford	May 20
Rural Libraries	May 29		June 12
<i>Book Reviews</i>		Episcopalians Take a Poll	
Alcohol, Culture, and Society,		(Ed.)	Nov. 2
Patrick	June 28	Expulsive Power of a New	
Church in Community Action,		Affection, The, Rasmusson.	Sept. 4
The, Seifert	Jan. 32	Faith and Life Curriculum,	
Gambling, Peterson	Nov. 30	Kuhn	Oct. 18
Hope and Help for the		Minister's Role in Social Educa-	
Alcoholics, Lovell	Apr. 31	tion and Action, Earle	Mar. 12
Inside, Bryan	Apr. 32	Pronouncements—What Then?,	
Our Public Schools, Martin ..	Jan. 31	Kuhn	May 9
Two-thirds of a Nation: A		Social Education in the Local	
Housing Program, Straus..	Jan. 32	Church, Earle	Nov. 8
Freedom—(Civil Liberties)		Social Education in Your	
Black Silence of Fear, The,		Presbytery, Earle.....	Jan. 18
Douglas	Nov. 12	Social Issues Challenge the	
Brain Washing—American		Church (Ed.)	May 1
Version (Ed.)	Apr. 1	Social Pronouncements—1953	
Christian Faith and Civil		Version	June 16
Liberties, The, Lehmann....	Dec. 5	Why Christians Are Concerned	
Christianity and Freedom,		About the World, Earle...Sept.	10
Gilkey and Kendell	Apr. 5	<i>Book Reviews</i>	
Churchmen Speak on Academic		America in Crisis, Aaron....	June 27
Freedom, Gibson, Kistler,		Christianity and the Class	
Mackay, McCluer, Turk...May	13	Struggle, Kuyper	Mar. 31
Dangerous Drift, Payne	May 1	Conduct of Life, Mumford...Nov.	31
Does Faith Impair Freedom?,		Guides to the Thought of:	
Pope	Jan. 5	Karl Barth, Nicholas Berdyaev,	
Humanities Essential to		Emil Brunner, Karl Jaspers,	
Citizenship, Hand	Jan. 25	Jacques Maritain, Reinhold	
Of Civil Liberties, Peters....	Dec. 22	Niebuhr, Allen	May 31
One Man Looks at the Loyalty		How to Understand Propaganda,	
Oath (Ed.)	Dec. 2	Lee	Dec. 30
We Proclaim Liberty,		Marching off the Map,	
McGuire	Dec. 9	Luccock	Sept. 32
<i>Legislation Analyzed</i>		Strengthened with Might,	
Investigations	Apr. 28	Wilke	Apr. 30
	June 24	Government and Citizenship	
<i>Book Reviews</i>		Citizenship, Lineweaver	Dec. 28
Declaration of Faith, A, Agar.	June 27	Double Standard, The (Ed.)..	Oct. 1

	PAGE
Ethical Standards in Government, Douglas	Oct. 19
Experiments in Citizenship Training	Jan. 28
Platform Committee, The, Brockway	Sept. 29
SEA Goes to the Conventions, Lineweaver	Sept. 27
Should I Run for Congress?, Craig	Mar. 26
Speech for a Presidential Candidate, Cousins	Oct. 4
When Politics Gets Into the Church (Ed.)	Dec. 1
Your Choice of Congressmen, Lineweaver	Oct. 29
<i>Legislation Analyzed</i>	
Cloture (Filibusters)	Mar. 30
Government Reorganization ..	Mar. 29
New Congress, The, Lineweaver	Feb. 28
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
Future of American Politics, The, Lubell	Oct. 32
Let's Go Into Politics, Baldwin	Nov. 32
Race Relations and Human Rights	
Are Your Attitudes Christian?, Stonework	Apr. 25
Christian Brotherhood, Wright	Feb. 16
Church's Goal, The— Nonsegregation, Wilmore ..	Feb. 5
Enlistment from Minority Groups, Priestler	Feb. 9
Fellowship Without Barriers, A	Feb. 23
"FEPC Angels Over Michigan," Rahn	Dec. 13
Intergroup Relations in 1952..	Feb. 2
Invitation to Adventure, Wysham	Feb. 14
Is Something Wrong Here?... Apr.	3
"It Works," McGee	Feb. 24

	PAGE
Medical Profession Moves Ahead	Feb. 20
Missions and Social Action— a Panel, Kuhn	Dec. 25
Next Steps in Racial and Cultural Relations (Ed.) ..	May 3
Operation Brotherhood, Petersen	Feb. 18
Opportunity for Service, Peacock	Feb. 12
Problem in Placement (Ed.) ..	Feb. 1
Progress Is Being Made	Mar. 27
Racial Patterns and the Churches, Kelsey	Mar. 18
Religious Bases of Human Rights, Kelsey	June 4
Seeing America First, Sutton..	Apr. 19
<i>Legislation Analyzed</i>	
American Indians	May 28
Bricker Resolution, The	Apr. 29
	June 24
FEPC	Mar. 30
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
African Heritage, Ross	Dec. 31
All About Us, Evans	Feb. 31
Fair World for All, A, Fisher..	Feb. 30
From Slavery to Freedom, Franklin	May 32
History and Human Relations, Butterfield	Nov. 31
Jews in the Soviet Union, Schwarz	Dec. 32
Man's Most Dangerous Myth, Montagu	Mar. 32
People Are Important, Evans..	Feb. 30
Racial Separation in South Africa, Dvorin	Feb. 32
South of Freedom, Rowan ...	Feb. 32
Sunday School Fights Prejudice, Eakin	June 28
These Rights We Hold, Brownlee	Dec. 32
What Is Race?, Tead	Apr. 30

World Order

PAGE

America's Responsibility for Japan's Future, Smith and Laney	Oct.	9
Church at the United Nations, The, Rosché	Oct.	26
Conscientious Objector, The, Roy	Apr.	9
Fourth Birthday Party	Dec.	24
How One Church Did It	Oct.	28
Human Rights for All, Head..	Jan.	22
International Human Rights (Ed.)	Sept.	2
Let Us Live for God and the Nations—Survey Report ...	Oct.	27
Matching Principle, UNICEF..	Feb.	26
New Role of the United States..	Oct.	16
Questions and Answers About the UN, Stevens, Weber, Bender	Dec.	16
Seek UN Information, Head..	Apr.	27
Spiritual Dynamics for Peace and Justice, Nolde	May	5
Ten-Point Guide Toward Peace	Nov.	27
Two-sided Attack on the UN, Allison	Apr.	13
UNICEF-aided Feeding Projects	Oct.	29
United Nations and God's Design, The, Sherrill	Mar.	23
United Nations News, Head..	May	26
	June	19
UN Assembly Opens, Head...	Dec.	27
UN News Notes, Head	Mar.	24
Up to Date on the UN, Head..	Nov.	26
What's Your UN-Q?	Dec.	25

PAGE

World Affairs Are Your Affairs, Thorsen	May	16
World Friendship	Oct.	24
<i>Legislation Analyzed</i>		
Foreign Aid	June	23
Immigration	Mar.	30
Immigration and Refugees...	May	28
President's Resolution	Apr.	29
Reciprocal Trade Agreements..	May	28
	June	23
Senate-House Immigration, The	Apr.	29
UNICEF	May	29
	June	23
<i>Book Reviews</i>		
America and the Mind of Europe, Galantière	Apr.	31
Citizens of the World, Barr...	May	30
Current Research in International Affairs, Carnegie...	Nov.	32
Irony of American History, The, Niebuhr	Dec.	30
Isolation and Alliances, Lippmann	Mar.	32
Religious Faith and World Culture, Loos	Sept.	31
Rendezvous with Destiny, Goldman	June	29
United Nations, Vandembosch and Hogan	Nov.	30
United Nations and Power Politics, The, MacLaurin...	Oct.	31
United States in World Affairs, 1951, The, Stebbins	Mar.	31
Uprooted, The, Handlin	May	31
Windows for the Crown Prince, Vining	Sept.	30

Social Progress—SEA chairmen and secretaries may want to plan now to invite every member of the social education and action committee to become a subscriber to *Social Progress*. September begins a new volume and provides a good starting point for committees that are planning their fall program. \$1.00 a year; \$2.50 for 3 years. Attractive group rates will be quoted on request. Order from Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

A Christian Declaration — of Loyalty

This is God's world and we are in his care . . .

We do believe.

Earth might be fair . . .

We will strive to do our part in making it so.

Fear comes of the unknown . . .

We will know.

The young and uniformed are open to false teaching . . .

We will share the truth.

Forces of dissension would undermine the very institutions that
can overcome Communism . . .

***We will become aware of these forces and throw our strength
with the superior force of Christianity.***

Many valiant defenders of God-given freedom are being wrongfully
accused . . .

We will uphold them.

We ourselves may for our beliefs face disapproval, insinuation, or
slander . . .

We will stand.

It is our heritage from the Old Testament, from Greek knowledge,
from the American founding fathers and from the Christian gospel
of love, to think freely and to speak our thoughts . . .

We do our own thinking.

We are sovereign American citizens, followers of Jesus Christ,
children of God . . .

We dare to speak out.

*—Adopted by the Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting
at Turkey Run Inn, Marshall, Indiana, May 5-7, 1953.*